VOTE CIO

...and GET a SOVIET AMERICA





Pictured here are the coercive methods by which CIO built its power. In 1944 CIO-PAC is using coercion too, plus smear, purge, pressure and pap.



VOTE CIO

...and Get a

SOVIET AMERICA

By

JOSEPH P. KAMP

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THE rise of Sidney Hillman's Political Action Committee of the CIO to a commanding position in the Democratic Party calls for a serious study of Hillman's political and personal history and of the persistent, though often changing methods of the Communists in American affairs.

It would be well for the Americans for once to take a lesson from the Communists, themselves, and organize neighborhood study "groups" to learn how the Communists operate and who they are.

Among the people who should be reached by such study are the American workers who have joined unions, willingly or not, who may actually believe that the fight against Communism is a fight on labor, as the Communist propaganda has been telling them for years. They get it in the shops, in the social centers of industrial towns and in union publications edited by Communists. . . .

Americans who know the records of their golfers and the regional jurisdictions of the amateur athletic union, and what year it was that Bobby Jones won all the titles there were, know nothing about the persons and groupings, the past performances, the changes of line, the political attitudes, now disguised, now defiant, of the organization whose chief, Sidney Hillman, with a power to levy millions of dollars from their own wages, has declared its intention to elect the President of the American Republic this year.

— *Westbrook Pegler.*

PART I

CIO CONVENTION CZAR

That Sidney Hillman has become a powerful political leader is an acknowledged fact. It would be hard to believe, however, that he is "laying down the law" to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. **But he is.**

Few people outside of Detroit, except CIO workers, have heard of Richard Frankensteen. It seems incredible that such a man—a rough, hard-boiled bully—could be on the threshold of becoming the economic and industrial dictator of the American people. **But he is.**

It is difficult to imagine Communist Earl Browder being the master-mind of the 4th Term campaign. **But he is.**

Many delegates to the Democratic convention are still trying to figure out just what happened at Chicago. Even top flight Democratic leaders still don't believe it . . . it just couldn't have happened. **But it did.**

Not only rank and file voters, but smart newspapermen, clever columnists and shrewd commentators are befuddled over the turn of events. They know a little of what went on behind the scenes . . . they have had a glimpse of the underhanded byplay, the cheap trickery, the double crossing and skullduggery. They have seen the result . . . and "it don't make sense." **But it does.**

It does make sense when a realistic analysis is made of the forces and factors involved in the 4th Term campaign.

To those who know just what happened it is obvious that if the current political plans of the CIO and the Communists are successful . . . if *their* "Democratic" candidates are elected or returned to office . . . all credit will be claimed . . . *and will be due,* mainly to Schmuel Gilman, alias Sidney Hillman; to Richard Frankensteen *nee* Frankenstein, Sidney's "good right arm," and to Earl Browder.

Under such circumstances the American people would find that, as has happened before, the successful candidates who were unprincipled enough to accept subversive and un-American support, would be subservient to those same sinister elements. America *can* awaken on November 8, 1944 to find Sidney Hillman making momentous decisions for and from the White House, Richard

Frankensteen running labor and industry, and Earl Browder as the political boss dictating from the sidelines.

If you think this far-fetched, consider what has happened already; read the Red record and see how far the revolutionary forces have progressed toward their goal!

Although President Roosevelt may have made up his mind to run for re-election months and months ago, the fact remains that Earl Browder, America's No. 1 Communist, was the first to initiate a 4th Term draft.

And regardless of the surface facts, it is true that Earl Browder has been masterminding the political machinations of Russian-born Sidney Hillman, the Socialist disciple of Communism who, without question, is the most powerful and important figure in the Democratic Party today . . . the master manipulator of the 4th Term drive.

On April 7, 1944, almost immediately after the President turned over a half dozen American warships to Soviet Russia, Earl Browder offered Mr. Roosevelt full Communist support and made an impassioned plea to the American people to rally behind the 4th Term drive. **The very next day,** Sidney Hillman publicly urged Mr. Roosevelt to run for a 4th Term.

Neither Earl Browder nor Sidney Hillman is actually interested in a 4th Term for F.D.R. *per se.* They ARE interested, instead, in a 4th Term for THEMSELVES . . . a 4th Term for *their* Rasputin Harry Hopkins . . . a 4th Term for *their* Machiavelli, Felix Frankfurter . . . a 4th Term for their Oracle, Sam Rosenman . . . a 4th Term for Collectivist Planning . . . a 4th Term for Bureaucratic Regimentation . . . a 4th Term for Nazi-Communist New Deal despotism . . . a 4th Term in which to consolidate the Left Wing gains of the last twelve years and finally to establish a Socialist Soviet America!

American Americans, however, would never vote for Sidney Hillman or Earl Browder.

They would never vote for Harry Hopkins or for Felix Frankfurter . . . for Richard Frankensteen . . . or for Sam Rosenman.

American taxpayers, particularly, would never vote to keep Communists on the government payroll.

They would never vote for Collectivist Planning . . . for Bureaucratic Regimentation . . . nor for *any* kind of despotism.

There would never be a single *American* vote for a Soviet America!

Therefore the Hillman and Browder strategy is to fight for a 4th Term . . . "for F.D.R."

Browder is "the brain." But, since Communists are not very popular except around Washington, he will stay pretty much in the background.

Hillman is the suave and slippery "front man". He is a diplomat of the smooth and sinister type . . . and he is dangerous. He gets around, too, and has slept in both Moscow's Kremlin and the White House.

Sidney loves to talk and will be *heard from* ***plenty*** during the campaign. He

has been *telling* the workers and *telling off* the bosses for forty years . . . even though he still can't speak English.

His Russian accent was an asset in his own chosen calling, however, and helped him build an enormous following among the workers in the clothing industry, with the result that he acquired influence and power.

In fact, Sidney Hillman has become so powerful that even President Roosevelt had to defer to his wishes—had to find out from the one-time pants cutter, what could and what could not be done at the Democratic convention.

And Sidney Hillman—never a Democrat—had to be consulted on the Democratic platform, too. It had to suit ***him*** before it was offered to the convention delegates.

Sidney Hillman even selected the candidate for Vice President, popular newspaper stories to the contrary notwithstanding. The "fight" for Henry Wallace was strictly camouflage.

Earl Browder, Franklin Roosevelt, Hillman, Hopkins, Hague & Co. knew that "Hank" Wallace was a political liability and had to be plowed under. It wouldn't do, however, to have him slaughtered openly (like those little pigs) and so, in order to save face and give a free demonstration of "democracy" at work, they put on a rowdy show.

Despite the public blaring for nomination of Wallace as vice-presidential candidate, his name was carefully omitted from the CIO Political Action Committee platform adopted on June 16, 1944, a month before the convention.

"We urge the nation to draft and elect Franklin Delano Roosevelt for another term in office," the platform read. Nothing more. Not a word about "Dear Henry," friend of the "common man."

If the Communists and the CIO had been sincere in their announced determination to renominate Wallace, Sidney Hillman would not have put his O.K. on another candidate in advance of the "fight."

But first, before he did this, just to show who was boss, Sidney Hillman turned "thumbs down" on Mr. Roosevelt's favorite for the job, "Assistant President" and former United States Supreme Court Justice Jimmie Byrnes, who was, forthwith and without ceremony, tossed into the political ashcan. Sidney gave the "green light" to Senator Harry Truman, who had voted "right" according to the Communist-CIO "yardstick" for subservient public servants. *Then* Mr. Roosevelt OK'd. Mr. Truman, too.

So, with everything set to their entire satisfaction, the "comrades," in the guise of delegates, really went to town. They had their cheering and booing squads. They started parades with a strike demonstration atmosphere. They used picket-line tactics and carried strangely lettered signs that were obviously out of character without that vigorous word STRIKE. They supplied balloons and banners and confetti and streamers and even Uncle Sam paper hats to make it look like the real McCoy.

They put on a "fight" with all the trimmings, and "lost"—everything but the "jackpot."

In truth, it was Sidney Hillman's convention. He ran the show.

The old-time political bosses were there, of course. But behind the scenes, Sidney was the arrogant super-boss.

Perspiring party "leaders" were allowed to bask in the spotlight on the convention stage. They went through the motions. They fumed and ranted in stuffy smoke-filled rooms. They were bullied and harried and pushed around . . . and they knew it!

And all the while in solid comfort in his official convention headquarters—an expensively appointed, air-conditioned penthouse bungalow atop the Morrison Hotel, Sidney Hillman pulled the strings and the puppets danced. At his pleasure he summoned party bosses and even cabinet members and told them "where they got off."

For hadn't the "Commander-in-Chief" told Chtirman Hannegan: *"Clear everything with Sidney"?*

As Chief Political Commissar of the CIO-New Deal-"Democratic Party" convention, Hillman demanded—and got—the same seclusion and privacy he enjoyed in Russia in the '20s while visiting Lenin in the Kremlin. Only the Great reached him, high in his luxurious sanctum sanctorum.

Henry Wallace — following a telephonic command — hot-footed it across town and spent tow hours at the Hillman feet.

Attorney General Francis Biddle sneaked up the fire stairs to get his orders, remarking: "I never thought I would do this for any man." *But he did.*

As Biddle left the Presence, Secretary Harold L. Ickes entered, hat in hand.

Later, Labor Secretary Perkins, having nothing important to do, dropped in to talk over old times.

One might find a bit of pathos in that two-hour visit of Wallace, since long before he was admitted to the air-conditioned precincts he had already been given the air. But not every ex-Vice President can look forward to a comfortable Cabinet berth as Secretary of Labor . . . Sidney's peace offering.

Successive telephone calls from this Middle-West Kremlin brought—and quickly—National Democratic Chairman Robert E. Hannegan and Samuel Rosenman—"Sammy the Rose"—from Hillman's own platoon of the White House Palace Guard.

Others of the important few were admitted, but only after scrutiny by the outer and inner guards, Senator Joseph F. Guffey of Pennsylvania and Senator Claude Pepper of Florida—the same "Claude the Pep" who once declared his greatest ambition was to nominate F.D.R. for President of the United States of the World.

When the President sent word through "Ambassador" Ed Flynn, master politician and paving block connoisseur, that he preferred Jimmie Byrnes as his running mate, Postmaster General Walker and Chairman Hannegan, *who were supposed to be running the convention,* made a bee line for Sidney's throne room. They delicately indicated that a certain resident of the White House had expressed a preference for his good friend, Justice Byrnes, for the Vice Presidential nomination, and they inquired would the gentleman approve? Sidney said,

"NO!" They pleaded, but he remained adamant. *"No Southerner,"* he declared, *"will get PAC backing."*

Byrnes, it seems, in addition to being a Southerner, got into Sidney's "dog house" by condemning the CIO's favorite pastime, the sit-down strikes.

On leaving, Walker and Hannegan expressed the hope that Mr. Hillman would "think it over."

The next morning they sent Senator Harry Truman to Hillman's super de luxe, beige-carpeted personal hide-away in the smart, palatial Ambassador East Hotel to find out if *Mr.* Hillman had changed his mind. It was 10:30 in the morning and Senator Truman had just announced to the press that he was not a candidate for the Vice Presidency. To his surprise, Sidney invited him to breakfast and while they toyed with their pheasant eggs a la Russe, the Senator apologetically broached his query.

"I have not changed my mind," said Hillman. "**Labor** will never take Byrnes. *But **Labor** will take you!"*

It was as simple as that.

At 11:30 Senator Truman called a press conference and announced not only that he was a candidate, but that he would win the nomination. He just *knew* that "democracy" would triumph!

And the while Sidney said "yes" or "no," or swapped pleasantries in delightfully modulated, although heavily accented polite language, his Deputy on the convention floor, CIO Vice President Richard Frankensteen, as Chairman of the Michigan Democratic delegation, bellowed orders to more than 150 accredited CIO delegates and harangued the convention in the best tradition of the Left-wing agitator.

In 1936 the Democratic Party was **mortgaged** to the CIO for $600,000.00 by John L. Lewis.

In 1944 Sidney Hillman **foreclosed the mortgage and took over the Democratic Party.**

Now Sidney Hillman is preparing to **take over the country** . . . in November.

■

"Although trade unions have made active campaigns in past elections, they have never before had the "green light" from a President of the United States virtually to supplant an old-line political campaign committee."

—New York Times, July 31, 1944.

IT IS YOURS TO CHOOSE
...UNTIL THE REVOLT COMES

Perhaps the biggest issue of the whole Democratic convention that has just passed into history was one which received very little attention.

It was whether the Democratic Party is to espouse the principles of American democracy or to shift from its ancient position as a liberal party to that of a radical party supporting ideals of government which are foreign to everything the nation has been throughout her long and glorious past.

Apparently the most powerful element in the decision was Sidney Hillman, Russian-born, New York-bred leader of the CIO Political Action Committee.

His victory stamped the Democratic Party as a radical labor party, and the decision left out in the cold several millions of registered Democratic voters—farmers, small business men, industrialisist and a large group of professional people.

If the "Democratic" Party wins in November it means that, unless Congress defends American principles of democracy, we shall continue down the long, disastrous road of regimentation, centralization and bureaucracy.

We shall live for a time, at least until the revolt comes, under a regime based upon ideas that came straight from Germany, for it was in Germany that Socialism, Fascism and Nazism all were born.

All these doctrines are founded upon the idea that the state must dominate the individual, control his earnings, limit his freedom, tax him to pay for millions of bureaucratic employees who spend their lives checking questionnaires, formulas and government payments.

Much of the confusion, the extravagance, the humbuggery of the past 12 years came from the fact that we have been neither a democratic nor a Communist nation, but a preposterous muddle of the two.

The two principals of government—democratic and Communist—are irreconcilable.

THE TIME HAS COME WHEN THESE ISSUES ARE NO LONGER UNCLEAR. The nation must decide whether it shall live under a government which is the servant of its citizens or one which reduces its citizens to the level of slaves, without even human dignity.

It is a simple enough choice.

In Europe there exist examples of Fascism, Nazism and Communism. They speak for themselves.

It does not seem possible that Americans would with their eyes open choose the conditions of Germany, Italy or even Russia.

— LOUIS BROMFIELD, noted writer and lecturer.

PART II

MID-STREAM TROJAN HORSE

The major political tactic of the Left Wing 4th Term high command is to intimidate the American people with the specious warning: *"Don't change horses in the middle of a stream."*

But it is the *horse* that has been changed—the Mid-stream Horse is just another Trojan Horse being put through its static paces by Sidney Hillman and Earl Browder.

The forepart of this subversive steed is easily recognized as Browder, reluctant resident of Leavenworth penetentiary as a conscientious objector during World War I, secret agent of the Communist Internationale in China, General Secretary of the Communist Party of America, Communist candidate for President of the United States, Agent-Provacateur of Moscow-directed sabotage of American preparedness during the Stalin-Hitler honeymoon, and recent inmate of Atlanta penetentiary convicted for passport finagling and finally pardoned by President Roosevelt "in the interest of national unity," with full restoration of citizenship . . . *including the right to vote.*

Today Earl Browder is the behind-the-scenes strategist of the Communist-CIO-4th Term forces.

In early 1937, in the official Red organ, *The Communist*, Browder first promulgated the "party line" which culminated in and became the basic strategy of the current CIO-Political Action campaign. Comrade Browder wrote:

> **"The development of the People's Front can proceed only along the line of combining the existing Farmer-Labor Party forms with the simultaneously developing progressive movements inside the Democratic Party (in some localities also the Republican Party), *in the elections.*"**

In furtherance of this policy the Communists made a stepchild of their own party, infiltrated into Democratic and Republican organizations, played up to the farmers and made their influence felt in the maneouverings of the first CIO political action unit, Labor's Non-Partisan League, and in the shameless political horse trading with both Democrats and Republicans of its affiliate, the openly Left Wing American Labor Party.

Now, for the first time, under the leadership of CIO-PAC and its National Citizens Political Action Committee, "existing Farmer-Labor Party forms" and

so-called "progressive movements inside the Democratic Party" have been combined for work in the elections.

Comrade Browder's "development of the (Communist-controlled) People's Front" is proceeding apace.

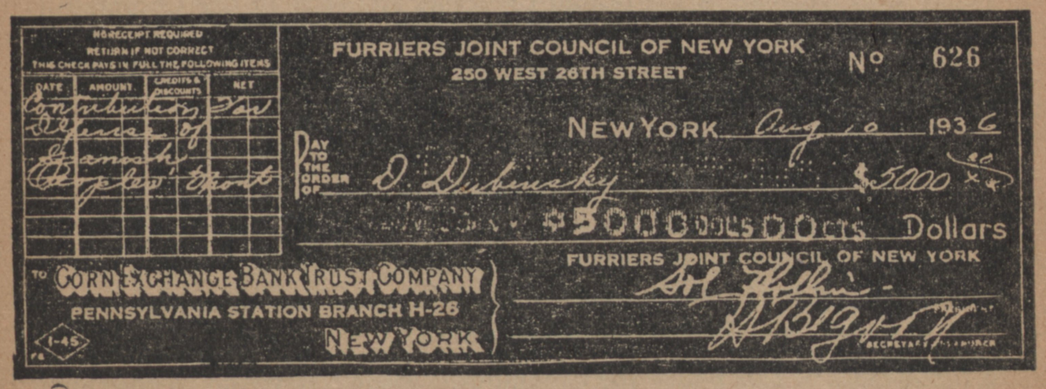
In recent inter-party warfare within the American Labor Party the Communists demonstrated their absolute control, and the abject subservience of Sidney Hillman, the new rear half of the Midstream Trojan Horse, came to notorious public notice. The fight was between the Communist and Socialist factions, and Sidney Hillman was Commander-in-Chief of the Communists . . . . but he was responsible to a higher authority, Earl Browder, Commander-in-Chief, of *all* American Communists.

"Mr. Earl Browder has captured the American Labor Party," said a statement issued by the retiring Socialist leaders. "The presence of Mr. Sidney Hillman within this Browder-Marcantonio coalition is of but minor significance . . . Under no circumstances will true Liberals serve as a front for a band of masked Communists and their fellow-travelers."

The most bitter comment, however, came from David Dubinsky, an original top flight CIO leader, a founder of Labor's Non-Partisan League and an American Labor Party stalwart. In resigning from the party Dubinsky said:

"I regard the American Labor Party as a Communist labor party. Mr. Hillman can act as a front for the Communists; I never did and never will."

[*Dubinsky was not quite correct in his last remark. As president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union,* which a New York Legislative investigating committee charged "seeks to bring about the overthrow of the present system of society," he did act as a front for the Communists when he raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for the Red "Spanish People's Front," and contributed $5,000.00 of his own union's funds without even bothering to ask permission of his members.*]


NO RECEIPT REQUIRED
RETURN IF NOT CORRECT
THIS CHECK PAYS IN FULL THE FOLLOWING ITEMS

DATE	AMOUNT	CREDITS & DISCOUNTS	NET
Contribution for Defense of Spanish People's Front			

FURRIERS JOINT COUNCIL OF NEW YORK
250 WEST 26TH STREET
No 626

NEW YORK Aug 10 1936

PAY TO THE ORDER OF D. Dubinsky $5000 00

$5000 00 Cts Dollars

FURRIERS JOINT COUNCIL OF NEW YORK

TO CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY
PENNSYLVANIA STATION BRANCH H-26
NEW YORK

1-45

This $5,000.00 check is made payable to "D. Dubinsky" and was a "Contribution for Defense of Spanish People's Front"—the Communist forces in Spain. It was a donation from the Furriers Joint Council of New York, CIO, headed by Ben Gold, a notorious Communist, one of the founders of the Communist Party and long a member of its governing body. The fur workers union was named as a "transmission belt" by the Dies Committee. It has pledged $50,000.00 to CIO-PAC for the 1944 campaign.

* The I.L.G.W.U. is a multi-million dollar enterprise. Its treasury in 1944 bulges with some sixteen million dollars, over nine million of which has accumulated during the war. In 1943 it purchased, for cash, for its New York offices and headquarters, the 6-story two million dollar Ford Motor Company Building and huge, modern Tammany Hall.

The Dubinsky statement was strategy. He did not mean he would desert the Red "cause."

Actually, Dubinsky is a revolutionary Socialist. In his youth he served 18 months in a Russian prison and was later sent to Siberia for his revolutionary activities. Since he came to America he has been a leader in many Red causes, including the Socialist Party.

[*Earl Browder told the National Press Club in Washington, August, 1936: "The program of the Socialist Party and the program of the Communist Party have a common origin in the Communist Manifesto . . . There is no difference, so far as the program is concerned, in final aim."*]

In commenting on the split in the American Labor Party, the Socialist weekly, *New Leader*, predicted that the Socialists who withdrew would "seek a new political home and political activity," and declared:

"They want a decent liberal party that will not follow the Communist line of supporting Big Business and 'free enterprise'."

But, it developed, they did not disdain to "follow the Communist line" in supporting the campaign for a 4th Term.

David Dubinsky and his Socialist followers lost no time in finding "a new political home and political activity." They called a convention, set up a new political movement, named it the *Liberal Party** and as the first order of business nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt as their candidate for President . . . the first political party to name him for a 4th Term.

[*Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, a member of Hillman's National Citizens PAC, became Vice Chairman of the Liberal Party. Niebuhr is head of the Union for Democratic Action which sponsored the first Smear and Purge Congress campaign.*]

On the following day the Communists disbanded as a political party (so that they could more successfully "bore-from-within" the Democratic Party), but without delay they reconstituted themselves as the Communist Political Association—changing the party name for the seventh time—and endorsed President Roosevelt for a 4th Term—a mere formality to ratify the official stand taken editorially by the Communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, when it said:

"We stand for national unity behind the Commander-in-Chief regardless of partisan considerations — a unity that

* Mrs. Roosevelt was the principal speaker at the Liberal Party's political rally which opened the campaign. She attempted to soothe ruffled tempers in the 4th Term vanguard by observing: "The trouble with liberals is that too often we quarrel AMONG OURSELVES."

requires President Roosevelt continue in office another four years."

In 1932 the Communists called F.D.R. a "fascist;" in 1936 they slurred him as a "liberal" and a "democrat;" in 1940 they denounced him as a "war monger." Even after Russia joined us as an ally and in spite of billions in lend-lease supplies for the Red Army, they withheld their hearty approval while clamoring for a "second front," but after Stalin met Roosevelt in Teheran everything was changed.

On December 13, 1943, Earl Browder declared:

"The voters of America should cry out in clear and loud voices to force President Roosevelt to run for a fourth term in 1944.

"The only important issue of the 1944 campaign will be the question of the support of the Teheran declaration."

Just what favored concessions were granted to Stalin at Teheran, the American people have never been told . . . it is being kept a deep, dark secret. Browder, and other Communist leaders throughout the world, however, seem to know. Whatever the deal was, it won support for Mr. Roosevelt not only from Browder and the American Communists, but also from the London *Daily Worker*, organ of the British Communists, and from *Pravda*, organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. *Pravda* not only endorsed Mr. Roosevelt but is openly campaigning for him . . . although its influence in America can hardly be expected to effect the votes of *Americans*.

Since there is no longer (officially) a Communist Party in America, the principal Communist support for the 4th Term campaign will come, on the one hand, through the American Labor Party, which is the de facto successor to the Communist Party, and the CIO Political Action Committee on the other.

Both of these organizations are headed by Sidney Hillman. Since Sidney is perhaps the most important and most powerful "front" for the Communists yet to come onto the American scene, it is time that the American people learn something about this nether end of the Mid-Stream Trojan Horse.

"Half-a-horse" Hillman

Sidney Hillman, or more correctly Schmuel Gilman, was born in Russia in 1887. At the age of thirteen, he entered Yeshivah resolved to restore family tradition by becoming a rabbi. But Sidney didn't become a rabbi. He believed his "work" lay with the great Jewish Social Democratic *Bund*, a militantly revolutionary organization.

Born with a talent and enthusiasm for violence, young Sidney learned fast in the *Bund*—the CIO of Russia at the turn of the century. In the Revolution of 1905-1906 he was among the "shock troops of labor" who, beating back "bourgeoisie" resistance with club, knife and gun, seized his native Zagare. He

was appointed a member of the "proletarian" committee which governed the town—until the official "cossacks" rode in and restored law and order. Sidney spent considerable time in jail. Here, among other imprisoned "workers," he received a post-graduate course in Marxist theories. In 1907, following an eight-month stretch for revolutionary activity, he fled to England, then came to America.

On August 10, 1907, Sidney landed at Ellis Island . . . a political refugee from Europe. For a short time he was a stock clerk for Sears, Roebuck and Co. in Chicago. Next came six months of unemployment. Two years after he arrived he became an apprentice pants cutter. Then, a member of the American "working class" less than three years, Sidney aided in fomenting the first major strike in the clothing industry. As a result of his part in the strike he met the leading "reformers" attached to Chicago's pinkish Hull House and got a taste of what has become his driving ambition—recognition and power.

He made a hit with the leading liberals, social workers and uplifters. They helped bring pressure to bear to insure union "gains" through the strike and, in appreciation, Sidney became a member of the revolutionary I.W.W. Defense Committee. The Industrial Workers of the World, a Socialist-Anarchist organization, had burned forests and wheat fields, engaged in sabotage, violence and murder. Some of its leaders had been jailed and needed "defense."

The Hull House reformers then arranged to have Sidney appointed as Chief Clerk of the New York Cloakmakers. He came to New York. He established himself at the Henry Street Settlement, founded by multi-millionaire Jacob Schiff who helped to finance the abortive 1905 revolution in Russia in which Sidney played a major role and later aided the successful 1917 overthrow of the Czar. Schiff's granddaughter, Dorothy Thackrey is owner and publisher of the Leftist New York *Post* now supporting Sidney in his revolutionary activity in the United States.

It was at the Henry Street Settlement that Sidney met Frances Perkins, then a leading Go-Gooder and subsequently Secretary of Labor in the New Deal Cabinet.

[*It is openly said in Washington that Secretary Perkins has never made an important official move without first consulting Sidney. This may account for the fact that Capitol newspaper correspondents recently voted Miss Perkins "the most useless person in Washington."*]

Sidney's principal duty was to adjust minor complaints of union members. He played up to one group in particular . . . the Left-Wing Socialists, close to the settlement house clique. In less than eight months this association with the radicals and the reformers paid dividends.

The revolutionary tendencies of the Socialists riled the leadership of the parent organization, the A. F. of L. United Garment Workers Union. When the union met in national convention in Nashville in 1914 it refused to seat the Red delegates, who then proceeded to hold a rump convention. The liberals and reformers promptly recommended that Sidney be made president of the new

organization. Sidney, still in New York, accepted. That is the story of Hillman's phenomenal rise to leadership. From apprentice pants cutter to president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.*

The Marxist nature of the Amalgamated was evidenced at once in the preamble to its constitution, which stressed the international *"class struggle"* as a requisite to the sovietizing of the world and declared that "class consciousness . . . will put the organized working class in actual control of the system of production, and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it."

The Lusk Committee of the New York State Legislature, after investigating Sidney's union, reported that it "is in reality an industrial arm of the Socialist Party of America, working for the objects of that party."

The history of Amalgamated is the history of a new and ruthless technique in strikes that not only shook the clothing and allied trades but fixed upon all other industries the dread of revolutionary tactics.

But just as Hillman made his first step to power in the 1905-1906 Russian revolution, so his first major success in the United States was through World War I—as his present-day triumph in getting his throttle-hold on New Deal Washington was made possible through exploitation of the exigencies of World War II.

Hillman was introduced to the White House in 1918 by Felix Frankfurter, then one of the numerous "reformers" surrounding President Wilson and now Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court and Machiavellian "advisor" to the President and the Palace Guard. Hillman became "important." He was able to deliver an ultimatum that uniforms for the armed forces of World War I would be made by Amalgamated — or else. Wilson acceeded — just as "Commander-in-Chief" Roosevelt unconditionally surrendered to the same ultimatum.

[*Felix Frankfurter, born in Austria, and one of the world's leading revolutionaries, was counsel for Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated and advised on legal matters in connection with the Lenin-Hillman Russian-American Industrial Corporation. In 1924 Frankfurter took legal action against the Department of Justice and forced it to discontinue investigation of Communist activities, with the result that Communism, until after this war started, was able to make headway without official interference.*

[*During the last war when the I.W.W., an earlier CIO, was attempting to sabotage war production, citizens of Bisbee, Arizona, deputized as police officers, "deported" more than a thousand terrorists across the state line. President Wilson sent Frankfurter to investigate. He denounced the citizens with the result that former President Theodore Roosevelt wrote him a public letter which said in part: "You are taking an attitude which seems to me to be fundamentally that of Trotsky and other Bolshevik leaders in Russia . . . You are engaged in excusing men precisely like the Bolsheviki who are murderers and encouragers of mur-*

*** At the last convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, President Hillman was voted a salary raise of $3,000.00. The convention's principal speaker was Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.**

der, who are traitors to their allies, to democracy and to civilization as well as to the United States."]

Following World War I, and growing out of bull-sessions on "social reform" with Felix Frankfurter, Frances Perkins and other Leftists, Sidney was inspired to use the Amalgamated for its real purpose—to further the cause of Marxian Collectivism.

In later years, with Amalgamated funds, he established "labor" banks, "labor" colleges, "labor" cooperatives, "labor" housing projects and a "labor" unemployment insurance plan. The "colleges" became revolutionary training centers, the housing projects were inhabited by the "bourgeoisie" because the "workers" could not afford to pay the rent demanded, and the unemployment insurance plan, after 10 years of "reform" hokus-pokus, exploded as just another racket when court proceeding disclosed that the funds collected had been used for quite other purposes than that for which the workers believed their money was to be used.

Amalgamated funds were also donated to Red Russia and Red Spain; to Brookwood Labor College, branded as "Communistic" by the A. F. of L.; to the Communist Party and in support of what the Communists called their "first lesson in revolution" in America—the Passaic strike.

And, in the name of his wife, Bessie Abramowitz, Sidney contributed $3,000.00 to the support of the Jewish Communist newspaper, *The Freiheit.*

Hillman's trips to Moscow, the fountainhead of Marxism, and his visit to the Kremlin and to Lenin, little tin God of modern Communism, were also responsible for these sovietizing ventures and gifts to Red causes.

Having long had an urge to participate in some way in the momentous revolutionary developments in his Russian homeland, Sidney, in early 1921, sent William Z. Foster to Moscow to represent the Amalgamated Textile Workers, which Hillman had organized in 1919 with Paul Blanshard as General Organizer.

[*Paul Blanshard, as a minister of the gospel during the last war, solicited slacker pledges from his congregation. Today he is an official in the Foreign Service branch of the State Department.*

[*While one of Hillman's agitators, during a strike in Utica, N. Y., he told an audience:*

"I am sometimes ashamed that I am an American. Yes, I am Red and pretty Red . . . the things that happened in Russia are bound to happen in America . . . the working class must have more power. They can't get that power unless they take it from somebody else. We must honestly try to abolish the superstition of patriotism. I am an American only by accident of birth."

[*When Hillman's campaign to organize the textile workers fizzled out, Blanshard became Educational Director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.*

[*On April 15, 1932, he told the Academy of Arts and Sciences, in Philadelphia:*

"Having once captured the government and shelved the Supreme Court, we Socialists would nationalize as many large industries as we could chew. We would do it peacefully, if possible, and we would do it otherwise if necessary."]

Foster, for years the leading American Communist and many times candidate for President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket, was Hillman's delegate to the Congress of the Red Trade Union Internationale. Two years before Sidney had given $100,000.00 to help finance Foster's national steel strike.

On June 2, 1921, "while sitting in the gorgeous throne room of the ex-Czar's palace attending a session of the Congress of the Third Internationale," William Z, Foster cabled his "heartiest congratulations" to Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers for a strike victory which, he said, was in "the spirit of the Russian revolution."

With this message came a cablegram from Losovsky, head of the Red Internationale of Labor Unions, who, in "subscribing unreservedly to the greetings and good wishes of Comrade Foster," hailed the Amalgamated as a "militant" union "consciously preparing the overthrow of the capitalist class and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat" in America.

[*On his return from the workers' fatherland, Foster, with the help of Hillman, organized a campaign for "industrial unionism" under the auspices of his Trade Union Educational League, financed with funds from Moscow. This organization later became the Trade Union Unity League which in 1935, on orders from the Communist Internationale, dumped its membership into the A. F. of L. to form the nucleus of the coalition which seceded to form the CIO, with Sidney as Vice President and William Z. Foster as chief strategist.*]

This recognition from the Great Red Fathers was too much and the prospect of a session with Lenin in that gorgeous throne room of the Czar's palace was irresistible. Accordingly, Sidney began to grease his way into the Kremlin with gifts of money, food, machinery and supplies, paid for with hundreds of thousands of dollars of union funds, "to help the starving Russians." Then he caught the next boat.

Once in Moscow, he had not one but three chummy conferences with Lenin. He talked with Leon Trotsky. He met the heads of the Soviet Government. He saw Karl Radek and Goldfarb-Petrovsky. He exchanged greetings with Earl Browder who was there "on business."

A few months later in Chicago he was telling the 1922 national convention of his Amalgamated Clothing Workers about his trip to Russia—about what he said to Lenin and what Lenin said to him. The long and short of it was that proletarian American workers were going to become real capitalists in the Soviet Union. In other words, Hillman had been sold a bill of goods.

The big idea was that the Amalgamated would set up a Russian-American Industrial Corporation and sell a million dollars worth of stock to American

workers. The money was to be "invested" in the Russian clothing industry. The Soviet Government guaranteed to "exploit" the Russian workers to a sufficient degree to insure the payment of interest to the American investors.

To show his faith in the soundness of this capitalist enterprise, Nikolai Lenin bought two shares for $20.

[*Samuel Gompers, then President of the A. F. of L., issued a statement branding Hillman as pro-Communist and denouncing his Russian-American Industrial Corporation project as a "Soviet scheme."*]

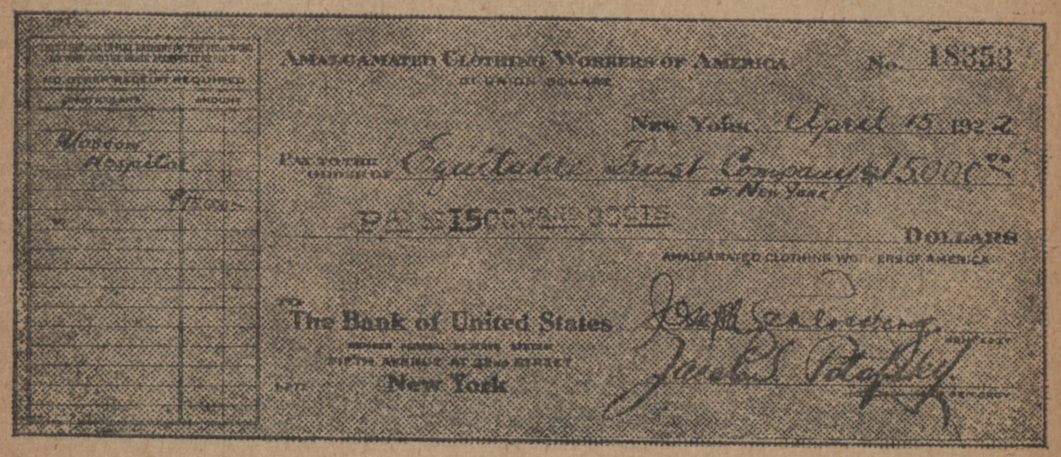
The clothing workers' convention scene as Comrade Hillman completed his address was best described in the official Communist organ, *The Liberator*, which said:

"The convention was a beautiful, thrilling mass demonstration of working-class solidarity; a legislature where great schemes were crystallized and high enterprises mapped out; a festival of proletarian joy, where worker embraced fellow-worker . . .

"There was a solemn religious silence in the temple as Hillman spoke. When he had ended the delegates broke into a marvelously spontaneous cheering and singing that lasted twenty minutes. They could not stop; and men and women wept, and an Italian 'leftist' from New York leaped on the platform and kissed the pale, trembling president on the cheeks, and Schlossberg, with tears in his eyes, kissed the president, and showers of red roses were thrown at the platform, and the *Internationale* was sung again and again and again.

"Five minutes later Hillman had recovered . . ."

Hillman was getting his first taste of real power. He was introducing other speakers to the convention, among them Robert Minor, for years No. 3 Communist in the United States; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, long the leader of the



This check, representing $15,000.00 of clothing workers' funds, was used by Sidney to buy equipment for Soviet Russia's model hospital in Moscow. It will be noted that the check was drawn at the time Comrade Hillman was greasing his way into the good graces of the Kremlin.

Governor Thomas Dewey and the Federal Government for custody of Louis Buchalter, alias Lepke, head of "Murder, Inc."

When Governor Dewey, as District Attorney, was investigating New York rackets he wanted to question Lepke about the murder of a manufacturer of boys' clothes back in 1931 when Lepke was a goon for Hillman's Amalgamated. But Lepke managed to keep out of sight.

The manufacturer, one Guido Ferreri, was shot to death in front of his home after he had quarrelled with the Amalgamated, had cancelled his union contract and had been threatened by an official of the union.

Even in those days Hillman was powerful, so instead of taking him into custody the police "ordered him in" for questioning.

Sidney came to the police station with his lawyer, Fiorello LaGuardia, now Mayor of New York, and was questioned by Acting Captain Vincent Sweeney in charge of the Brooklyn detective bureau. Although it was an open secret that Lepke had "done the job" nothing came of the investigation. The whole thing was hushed up.

Shortly thereafter, however, LaGuardia, as the new Mayor of New York, made Sweeney a Magistrate, an important and unusual appointment for a police officer.

When Tom Dewey came along and his sleuths got hot on Lepke's trail the gangster-murderer surrendered to Federal authorities through gangland's confidant, Walter Winchell; pleaded guilty to operating a narcotic ring, and was sentenced to 14 years in a Federal penitentiary outside of Dewey's jurisdiction.

But Dewey was persistent and eventually Lepke was turned over to the Brooklyn District Attorney and tried and convicted for another murder.

Then District Attorney William O'Dwyer determined to "break" the Ferreri case. He was using detectives of the New York police department. In the middle of the investigation Mayor LaGuardia discovered what was going on. He ordered the Police Captain in charge to submit a full report to him. O'Dwyer objected and, rather than obey the Mayor, the Police Captain resigned.

Asked about Lepke, O'Dwyer said: "He's nothing but a thug. Someone paid him. I'm going to find out who."

But Mr. O'Dwyer never found out. *Commander-in-Chief Roosevelt gave him a commission in the U. S. Army. He is now Brig. Gen. William O'Dwyer, Military Administrator in Italy.*

After being sentenced to the electric chair, Lepke was returned to Federal custody where he would have remained in comparative comfort and safety but for the election of Dewey as Governor of New York.

As the execution date neared, Governor Dewey made a formal demand on the

Department of Justice for Lepke's surrender, but Attorney General Biddle, on the basis of one of his many strange interpretations of the law, refused to comply. Winchell implied that a "deal" had been made with Lepke and the government should live up to it.

There were ugly rumors, however, and veiled hints even crept into the newspapers that the government was afraid to surrender Lepke for fear that in exchange for his life the notorious union racketeer, dope peddler and murderer would "squeal" to Dewey and implicate "a leading national labor leader" and "a prominent politician."

For months the controversy raged and the execution date was postponed again and again and again until the scandal threatened to do irreparable damage to the Administration politically. Then, when the inevitble could no longer be postponed, Lepke was surrendered to pay the penalty in the electric chair.

Whether he "talked" or carried his secrets to the grave is known to but a few. If Lepke did talk, he told plenty; and if his death-cell confession is made public during the 1944 election campaign it is certain that the American voter will the better be prepared to judge the character of the "leadership" promised by the Hillman CIO Political Action Committee.

Returning to the saga of Sidney: Underworld gangsterism was no help to Hillman in fighting a depression. But political gangsterism was. For several years preceding the New Deal the Amalgamated had been weakened by a deteriorating market and sharpened competition. But, come 1933, Sidney's old friend Felix Frankfurter once more took him to call upon a President. Franklin Delano Roosevelt appointed Hillman a member of the Labor Advisory Board of NRA and he became Roosevelt's No. 1 brain-truster in matters pertaining to labor. He was also given Presidential appointments on the NYA, FLSB, NDAC, OPM, WPB and SPAB.

In 1919 Sidney Hillman was one of the first, perhaps the first, public figure, to agitate for diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States government and his influence as a trusted Roosevelt advisor in 1933 was credited with having hurried along that eventuality. Now the Comrades looked again to Sidney as one of their champions.

Although NRA was declared un-Constitutional by the Supreme Court, it served Hillman long enough to enable him, with a little "intercession" by another old friend, Secretary of Labor Perkins, to achieve his greatest ambition—acceptance of him and his Amalgamated back into the A. F. of L. This provided him with the opportunity to do some revolutionary boring-from-within.

Once reinstated, Hillman lost no time in agitating petty disaffections and temporary breeches of harmony into chronic malcontent and disunity. He did his work well.

Soon the A. F. of L. was in the throes of a bitter battle on the issue of indus-

trial unionism versus craft unionism, with Sidney trying his best to win a victory for the Moscow "party line." In this fight he had the backing of the vocal and aggressive Red hordes who had been directed by Moscow to infiltrate into the A. F. of L. unions for the purpose of transforming the Federation into an instrument of political and class warfare.

In the end, however, the Red cause was decisively repudiated by the conservative A. F. of L. leadership. Hillman then turned defeat into victory by joining anti-Communist John L. Lewis in organizing the Committee for Industrial Organization. How complete was his victory was shown when the CIO blossomed out under the control and domination of the Communists.

Month by month Hillman became more powerful not only in the CIO but also in the national political picture. Then John L. Lewis, rankled that his United Mine Workers' $600,000.00 "contribution" to Roosevelt's second term campaign fund had not "paid off," turned against F.D.R. and promised to resign from the CIO in the event of Roosevelt's reelection. Lewis kept his word, and Sidney took over. Hillman selected Phil Murray as the CIO's new president and Hillman has made the major decisions in the ensuing years. Hillman is dominant in the CIO today . . . dominant, but taking orders from the master-minding Comrades at Communist G.H.Q.

[*On August 15, 1944, Louis Waldman, for years Hillman's personal attorney and still counsel to the New York Joint Board of his Amalgamated Clothing Workers, while asserting that Sidney was not a Communist claimed that PAC's Mr. Big is being used by "militant Socialists like Walter Reuther."*

[*Walter Reuther is the most prominent of the CIO agitators. Along with his brother Victor he was responsible for much of the violence and bloodshed in the first wave of CIO sit-downs and lawlessness.*

[*In 1934 the Reuther brothers were in Soviet Russia being trained as Communist propagandists and agitators. On returning to the United States they enrolled at Communistic Brookwood Labor College where they learned how to apply Red strategy in America.*

[*While in Russia they wrote to their comrades Melvin and Gladys Bishop in Detroit: "We are more than just sympathetic toward OUR country (the Soviet Union), we are ready to fight for it and its ideals . . .* ***Carry on the fight for a Soviet America."***]

When America began its feverish plans for defense, Hillman was appointed a co-Director of the Office of Production Managament to serve as nominal assistant to, but actual Political Commissar over War Production Director William Knudsen, former president of General Motors. In this position, Sidney was

ideally placed to carry on for Moscow—and did. While Director Knudsen was attempting to speed up production, Sidney's cohorts were succeeding in slowing it down.

All America knew in 1940-1941—despite President Roosevelt's "again and again and again" assurance—that the frantic effort to get out planes and mechanized war equipment was not only to aid Britain but was for our own use as an inevitable belligerant. *But* the Hitler-Stalin pact was still on; the Comrades had a "patriotic" duty to fulfill.

Hillman was specifically charged before the Senate Defense Committee on May 27, 1941 with deliberately instigating the Vultee Aircraft strike, the first major CIO strike to paralyze our plane production, and with blocking all attempts to break Communist domination of Boeing Aircraft where the production line was being wrecked by the "class struggle." The same day, the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board found the Hillman-dominated CIO guilty of sabotaging production of mechanized equipment by the 76-day strike at the Allis-Chalmers plant, the most destructive single stoppage of military preparedness and gravest act of sedition in World War II.

If one were disposed to question whether Hillman's allegiance would be to the United States or to the Communist cause, even in time of war, a survey of his aides in the War Production Board should make the answer easy and definite.

Among his most trusted and active assistants were: Eli Oliver, one-time head of the CIO Labor's Non-Partisan League and subsequent directing chief of the Communist-Socialist coalition American Labor Party; Jacob Baker, long a leading publisher of Communist literature and one of Harry Hopkins' Deputy WPA Admnistrators; Herbert Harris (Isador Horwitz), former Communist organizer and eventually Hillman's personal press agent; Dr. David J. Saposs, twice barred by Congress from the government payroll as a Communist, and Emil Jack Lever, Communist agitator who endeared himself to Hillman when, in a public speech, he ridiculed the American worker for passivity and declared:

"The Russian workers alone have shown the courage and ability to take over the government and industry."

[*Dr. David J. Saposs, born in Russia, was head of Communist Brookwood Labor College, an instructor at the Red Rand School and a member of the John Reed Club composed of Communist writers. His books, published by the official Soviet publishing house in the United States, have been used in the Communist Workers Schools.*

[*Dr. Saposs was also Educational Director for Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers and in charge of its Information and Intelligence Service . . . an espionage department.*

[*Writing in the revolutionary publication, LABOR AGE, he said:*

"The (Socialist) International must take the position that if another war

occurs the workers will destroy capitalism. With that end in view the workers must be prepared to stretch arms across the frontiers in case of war and definitely WIN POWER for themselves."

[*Dr. Saposs was one of the organizers and a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, the purpose of which, as published on its letterhead, reads:*

"IT AIMS TO INSPIRE THE WORKERS TO TAKE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT, ABOLISH THE PRESENT CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND BUILD A WORKERS' REPUBLIC."]

Sidney will have no hesitancy in denying that he is a Communist. But the record is clear. Ben Gitlow, recanting former head of the Communist Party, in his book, "I Confess," writes:

"The Communist Party of the United States could not be outdone in its praises of Sidney Hillman."

One thing is certain. The virus of Marxism infused into Sidney in his youth remains. The poison of revolution is in his blood.

It will be said that he has fought the Communists. He has . . . at times—when they fought him. In 1940, as he was preparing to take over control of the CIO from John L. Lewis and the Communists were siding with Lewis, there was a holy row. They castigated him and he denounced them. But it was just a private family fight. Now they are on another honeymoon together.

Sidney Hillman is a human chameleon. He changes his ideological complexion to suit the occasion and to suit himself. He has often represented himself as a dyed-in-the-wool radical. When he was close to the Communists . . . when he was their hero . . . as he is now . . . they played up his revolutionary background as it suited their purposes. At other times Sidney pictured himself as a conservative and reasonable union leader . . . yes, even as a "labor statesman."

Sometimes he gave lip service to American principles and ideals, the while substantially supporting the cause of Red insurrection.

He has fooled a lot of people. He is a smart, shrewd, crafty and conniving opportunist who fawns, flatters and finagles his way into the confidence of those he intends to "use."

A case in point is that of a one-time outstanding "open shop" clothing manufacturer who was a thorn in the side of Hillman's ambition to extend his union. Sidney discovered that the man at one time had been a minister in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. He contrived to meet him and succeeded in selling himself as a fellow-worker in the Lord's vineyard. "We prayed together," Sidney explained later. The manufacturer not only capitulated but told other employers: "Sidney Hillman, to my mind, stands second only to the Carpenter of Galilee in his leadership of the people themselves."

To this sincere and devout Christian, Sidney Hillman represented himself as *a servant of God.*

To the foreign-born in his union imbued with European ideologies, he was *a Marxist . . . a Socialist . . . a friend of Communist Russia.*

To Administration politicians, he was *a Democrat.*

To the A. F. of L., he was *a union leader.*

To the Palace Guard, he was *a New Dealer.*

To the Do-Gooders, he was *a reformer.*

To the liberals, he was *a progressive.*

To the President, he is *a friend.**

It cannot be denied that Sidney Hillman has tried to be all things to all men . . . with one exception. He has not tried to be an American.

Ben Stolberg, in the Saturday Evening Post, says frankly that Sidney Hillman *"has never become really Americanized."*

It is true, too, that at times he has tried not to be identified as a Communist. But Democratic Senator James Eastland of Mississippi was not far wrong when he told the Senate on June 19, 1944:

"Sidney Hillman is just as much a Communist as Stalin himself."

■

"Mr. Hillman's personal ambitions, allied with Mr. Browder's Communist zeal, make an insidious combination . . .

"It's a grim and sinister courtship to menace the future of any American political party."

— N. Y. WORLD-TELEGRAM, March 10, 1944.

*** The New York Times reported on July 31, 1944, that Sidney Hillman "is in constant touch with the White House and its political specialists by telephone. Now and then Mr. Hillman calls on the President, usually avoiding newspaper men. Sometimes Gen. Edwin Watson, the Presidential appointments secretary, does not even know he is seeing the 'skipper'."**

WE believe that we have Mr. Roosevelt in the middle of a swift stream and that the current is so strong he cannot turn back from it.

We believe that we can keep Mr. Roosevelt there until we are ready to supplant him with a Stalin.

The above statement, according to testimony of Dr. William A. Wirt before a special committee of the House of Representatives, April 10, 1934, was made by Lawrence Todd, Washington correspondent of the Soviet Agency, TASS, at a dinner discussion attended by leading New Deal "brain trusters" and bureaucrats.

PART III

MOSCOW-PAC POLITICAL AXIS

The story of the CIO role in the national political picture could be written as of July 7, 1943, when first steps were taken to set up the CIO Political Action Committee.

Or it could have its inception at a midnight meeting in New York's Commodore Hotel, on December 29, 1942, between Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Sidney Hillman, Gardner Jackson and James Patton.

The story could begin a few weeks earlier when Sidney Hillman was summoned to the White House and urged to organize a campaign to combat a fast growing conservative political trend . . . and to draft Franklin D. Roosevelt for a 4th Term.

Another possible beginning could be on July 16, 1936, when the American Labor Party, of which Sidney Hillman is now chief Czar, was organized under Socialist-Communist-CIO auspices.

The origin of current CIO politico-labor activity could likewise be traced to the formation, on April 1, 1936, of Labor's Non-Partisan League, in which Sidney Hillman and Gardner Jackson also played leading parts.

Or the complete sordid and disturbing story might be seen as having begun with the organization of the CIO in November, 1935.

But, the history of CIO-PAC actually began when Moscow decreed the creation of the Communist Party in the United States. The Communist Party came into being at Chicago on September 3, 1919, and adopted a program which, "prophetically" anticipating the CIO scheme of organization, declared:

> **"As against the trade unionism of the American Federation of Labor, the Communist Party propagandizes industrial unionism and industrial union organizations, emphasizing their revolutionary implications. Industrial unionism is not simply a means for the every-day struggle against capitalism; its ultimate purpose is revolutionary, implying the necessity of ending the capitalist parliamentary state. Industrial unionism is a factor in the final mass action for the conquest of**

power, as it will constitute the basis for the industrial administration of the Communist Commonwealth."

Unlike present-day Reds and CIO leaders, the early American Communists were frankly outspoken in stating that industrial unionism was NOT just another form of trade unionism. It has **"revolutionary implications,"** they boasted; **"its ultimate purpose is revolutionary,"** they said; it is a "factor in the final mass action for the conquest of power," they declared; and it implies, they asserted, the ending of the "capitalist parliamentary state"— in other words, it promulgates and foments the destruction of our government.

As soon as the convention was over the Communists started a campaign to reorganize American labor on an industrial union basis, to overthrow the government by revolution and to set up a "Communist Commonwealth"—or as they currently phrase it—a Soviet America.

Immediately they began to "bore-from-within" the American Federation of Labor and met with such success that, in self defense, the loyal American unions were forced to take measures to purge their ranks of the destructive Communist influence. Thousands of Red agitators and propagandists were expelled during the next few years.

The United Mine Workers of America became so alarmed over Communist activity that they caused an investigation to be made and in 1924 submitted to the United States Senate a report which said in part:

> **"The movement is aimed not only at the labor unions but at the entire industrial, social and *political structure of the country*, and with the single aim of eventually establishing a Soviet dictatorship in the United States . . ."**

The United Mine Workers were right. For just two years before, in 1922, government agents had raided an illegal Communist convention being held on the sand dunes of Lake Michigan near Benton Harbor and had seized documents which proved this conspiracy.

One significant item now in the Federal archives in Washington is a copy of a report by one of Soviet Russia's secret agents in America who had been directed to make a survey of the possibilities of "boring-from-within" the A. F. of L. to establish industrial unionism. In 1921 he reported to his Moscow masters:

> **"The prospects of our influencing the labor movement are mainly in the predominantly Jewish organizations like the International Ladies' Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Hat Cap and Millinery Workers . . . There is a splendid chance for our propaganda . . . among the Textile Workers; also the United Mine Workers. There are great possibilities . . . among the automobile workers."**

It is more than coincidence that in 1921 the Communists could select by name the very organizations that in 1935—14 years later—were to be the principal factors in organizing the CIO, and in 1944—23 years later—were the principal supporters of PAC.

Even more revealing is the fact that as soon as the CIO began to function these five unions contributed a sum running into the millions to finance an organizing drive in the one industry—"among the automobile workers"—in which the Soviet secret agent reported "there are great possibilities for our work."

When, in the early twenties, the A. F. of L. succeeded in thwarting the Red "boring-from-within," the Communists formed industrial unions of their own. Some fifty Red unions were organized under the banner of the Trade Union Unity League and became affiliated with the Red Internationale of Labor Unions at Moscow.

But these new "Sovietizing" cells met with little success until after the stock market crash in 1929. Then the Communist unions flowered and were responsible for 90 per cent of the major strikes during the depression years.

The Communists also organized the unemployed, *the bonus army*, and many local, state and national hunger marches. Results were excellent from the agitational point of view. When, however, these strikes and demonstrations had served their purpose, the Moscow master-minds again turned their attention to the possibilities of renewed activity within the A. F. of L.

It is a simple matter to discover the pertinent "orders" of the Communist Internationale and the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and to trace the successive steps—not only in the scheme to penetrate the A. F. of L., but also in the organization of the CIO and direction of its activities.

Likewise, the "directives" issued through official Red organs and by Communist Party leaders and which have a bearing on the CIO movement are definite and clear.

Speaking for the American Communist Party on January 1st, 1935, Alex Bittleman, member of its Central Committee, declared:

> **"On this, the eleventh anniversary of Lenin's death, we renew our pledge of allegiance to the struggle for a Soviet America."**

At the same time, Max Young, another spokesman for the Party, reviewed the achievements of the previous year and looking to the future asked the question:

> **"How is the Party fulfilling its main task? Concretely, how is the Party preparing the proletariat for the overthrow of capitalism—for the seizure of the factories . . ."**

The answer was not long in coming.

On January 15th, the Central Committee met at Communist headquarters

on 13th Street in New York, and in a resolution declared there were "new and great possibilities of revolutionary mass work" within the A. F. of L. unions. Accordingly, it decreed that "existing revolutonary trade unons (Red industrial unions) and their locals join the A. F. of L. or its unions" and also that "in those cases where collective joining is not possible, members of the Red unions should join the unions of the A. F. of L. individually."

After fusion, the resolution directed, the A. F. of L. unions were to be treated "as mass workers' organizations in which we are carrying on a struggle for winning the masses to the revolutionary struggle."

"The Party must take the initiative," the Central Committee decided, after considering the make-up of the A. F. of L. unions, "in the struggle for their industrial structure."

Then bluntly and frankly it declared: "The Communists and other advanced workers must develop a wide strike movement."

As a result, early in 1935, the infusion of revolutionary Red blood into the A. F. of L. began. In August of that year the Congress of the Communist Internationale met in Moscow and directed the American comrades to reorganize the "trade unions by industries"—create industrial unions. Immediately agitation for Industrial Unionism was heard on every hand and groundwork was laid for the "wide strike movement" which has plagued the American people to this very day.

Later in 1935, at the A. F. of L. convention at Atlantic City, John L. Lewis emerged as the echo of the Comintern. With the blessing of the American Communists he became the leader of the forces for "industrial unionism."

However, John L. Lewis' resolution to commit the A. F. of L. to an industrial union program was defeated by a vote of almost two to one, and within a month—in November, 1935—the formation of the CIO was announced.

That the CIO began to follow the Communist "party line" from its very inception was evidenced in its ready acceptance of Red revolutionary strategy including "sit-downs," "slow-downs," "sabotage," clashes with the police, and the latest present tactic—"wildcat" or unofficial strikes.

It was the Central Council of the Red Internationale of Labor Unions at Moscow which decided:

> **"We must apply different forms . . . a strike while remaining in the factories, a slowing down in the tempo of work . . . bad work (sabotage) for low wages . . . break through police barriers to establish by direct action the control over the employment and dismissal of workers, to secure changes in the internal regulations of the factory . . .**
>
> **"It is our task to rehabilitate the so-called 'wild-cat' or unofficial strikes . . ."**

Despite such evidence, John L. Lewis steadfastly denied any Communist connection.

All doubt as to the close tie between the Communists and the CIO was removed, however, during the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939-1941 when countless CIO strikes in key war plants constantly tied up production.

Congressman Joe Starnes, Vice Chairman of the Dies Committee, in May, 1941, told his colleagues in the House of Representatives:

> **"All over the United States, wherever there is opportunity to sabotage our program of national defense, the Communist Party is working under the auspices of the CIO."**

The previous month Congressman Martin Dies had wired Philip Murray, who succeeded John L. Lewis as President of the CIO, to inquire what the CIO proposed to do about a long list of CIO officials "concerning whose Communist affiliations there can be no doubt in view of the evidence before our committee." In this wire Chairman Dies stated:

> **"Earl Browder testified before our committee that 50,000 members of the Communist Party are also members of trade unions; that two-thirds of them are affiliated with your organization and that hundreds of his members are officials of your unions.**
>
> **"Please advise me by telegram at once so that I may read your reply to the Congress whether or not the CIO is ready and willing to expel from its ranks and from positions of leadership members of the Communist Party."**

Philip Murray did not answer.

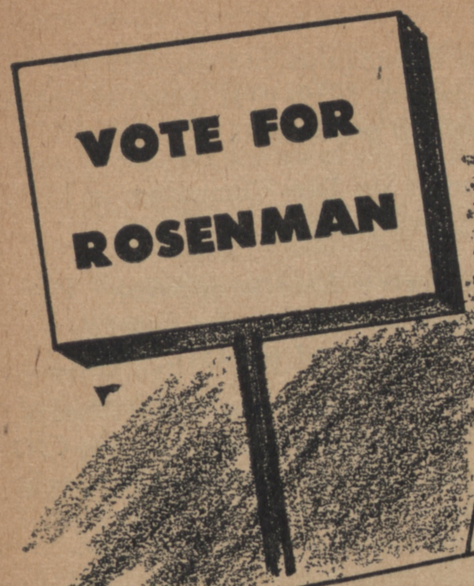
The reason no answer was forthcoming may be found in a recent statement by John L. Lewis. According to the New York Times of Feb. 29, 1944, Lewis said:

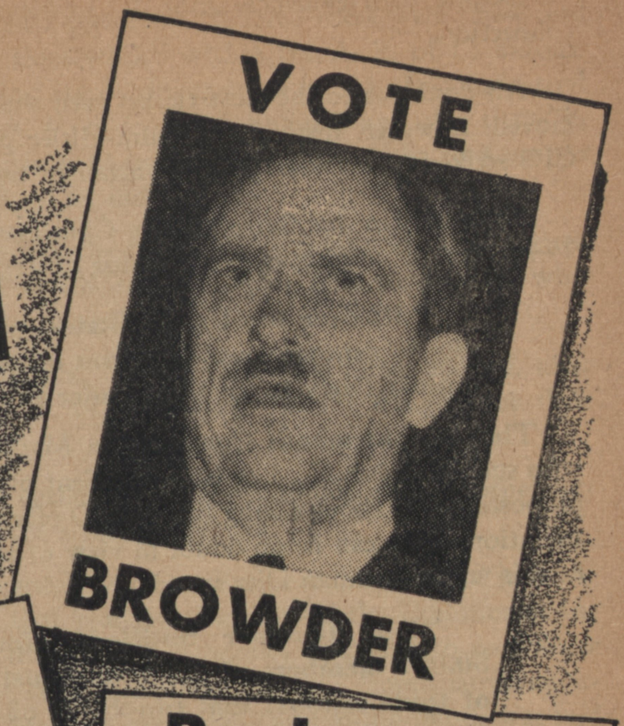
> **"When I was organizing the CIO we picked up a lot of Communists—including Harry Bridges.* But if I had not resigned the Chairmanship and left the CIO in 1940 I can tell you the Communists would have been weeded out of the CIO long before now. Instead, the Communists dominate the CIO today.**

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* The alien Harry Bridges, although being kept from deportation by the good offices of the Attorney General, is head-over-heels in PAC-politics. Unable to vote himself, he is, nevertheless, busy telling American voters what's what. When he told the CIO Greater Industrial Council, in February, 1944, that F.D.R. must be reelected "to carry out the principles decided on at the Teheran conference," he explained that Mr. Roosevelt was delaying announcement of his intention to run again because "he is waiting to see what we are going to do about clearing out the rascals in Congress." He added:

"WE MUST CLEAN OUT REACTIONARIES. SEND THEM BACK TO THEIR POLL TAX STATES. AND NEVER FORGET, THERE ARE MORE HITLER AGENTS TO THE SQUARE INCH IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS THAN THERE ARE TO THE SQUARE MILE IN DETROIT."









VOTE FOR FRANKFURTER



VOTE FOR HOPKINS





"Philip Murray is today the prisoner of the Communists in his own union. They control him and the CIO through their seats on his executive committee. And there isn't a blessed thing he can do about it.

In the face of this admission by John L. Lewis that the CIO was shot through with Communists, Phillip Murray on May 10, 1944, in supinely fronting for PAC, brazenly said:

"There are some people in Congress who have, of course, castigated the Political Action Committee. Some have even said it is subversive. You will recall that back in 1936-39 these same people said the CIO was subversive. Well they lied then and they are lying now."

The organization of the Communist-dominated CIO was followed almost immediately by the creation of affiliated political units in which the Communists also played a leading role. First, Labor's Non-Partisan League was set up. Then came its New York section, the American Labor Party. In early 1943 a so-called United Labor Committee actually began what is now called CIO political action.

This later activity came about at the instigation of White House strategists who, in late 1942, suggested to Sidney Hillman that he mobilize "liberals and labor" in support of a 4th Term. As a first step Sidney met with Mrs. Roosevelt, James Patton, head of the radical National Farmers Union, and Gardner Jackson, an intimate of the President, who is known as perhaps the most notorious Communist Fellow Traveler and Left Wing busybody in Washington.

[*Jackson's Red record from 1932-1942 covers 30 cards in the files of the Washington police department. He first came under police surveillance in 1932 in connection with the Communist inspired Bonus Army invasion of Washington which he helped organize and finance. Through his friendship with President Roosevelt he was appointed to the AAA, but was fired after AAA Administrator Chester Davis made charges of "revolutionary conspiracy" against Jackson and other employees. He is listed by the Washington police as a "local 'front' for all communist or radical organizations in Washington" and, according to Congressman Dies, "has one of the longest records of activities in Communist-front organizations of any man in this country." Currently, Gardner Jackson is a PM reporter and a trustee of the Marshall Fund, over a million dollars of which is to be spent and is already being spent for the spreading of Communist doctrine in America.*]

The meeting was held in the Commodore Hotel, New York, after midnight on December 29, 1942, and a decision was reached to form a national committee of "liberals" and have former Senator George Norrris "front" for the Committee. But Senator Norris balked, and for the next few months nothing was accomplished.

Then Sidney organized his United Labor Committee with the intention of uniting CIO and AFL into a political junta. On May 22, 1943, during ULC's first convention, Hillman told 600 of his leaders:

"The political organization of labor this year and next will determine whether the war will be followed by a lasting peace or the beginning of another war."

It is singularly noteworthy that in every instance where Hillman, Browder or other CIO-Communist-New Deal leaders allude to the possibility of a World War III, the allusion is a threat instead of a prophecy — either Teheran or Armageddon.

Although ULC was formed a year before the "New Munich" of Teheran, the essence of the Anglo-American appeasement of Soviet Russia already was written so plainly into ULC's platform that AFL unions refused to join. Sidney's aspiration to become the political boss of all American labor was, perforce, limited to the CIO.

Sure of his tyrannical hold upon the CIO, Sidney abandoned the now discredited title of United Labor Committee and, on June 7, 1943, reintroduced his subversive machine as the CIO Political Action Committee.*

In structure and proposed function PAC followed the exact pattern drawn by Lenin and Trotsky for the overthrow of the Kerensky government in Russia and the establishment of the USSR: A Central Comintern; regional commissariats; Community councils; neighborhood "cells."

And PAC's announced purpose "to rally the common people" is a perfect echo of the Red Russian Revolution.

In no time at all PAC blossomed out with an executive staff of 59 at its headquarters in New York; with 14 regional offices throughout the country manned by 56 high-powered go-getters; with more than 5,000 CIO leaders acting as local Tammany chiefs, and 100,000 union shop stewards as full time ward heelers.

One of Sidney's first moves was to appoint a confidential aide and legal advisor. Earl Browder recommended John Abt, New York attorney and husband of Jessica Smith, editor of the Moscow-financed Communist magazine *SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY*. P.S. He got the job.

Working closely with Abt is Lee Pressman, general counsel for CIO. Pressman, "a stooge for the Communist Party," was forced out as chief counsel for the National Labor Relations Board by Congressional action.

The next thing PAC's Commander-in-Chief did was to select a propaganda brain-trust. Included were Max Lerner of the newspaper *PM* — "uptown edi-

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*** PAC is steadfastly presented as "non-partisan," organized to assist either Democratic or Republican candidates. But Hillman qualifies it slightly: ". . . by non-partisan, I mean for Roosevelt."**

tion of the *Daily Worker*;" Roscoe Dungee, publisher of the *Black Dispatch*, which is black and white but re(a)d all over; Dr. Krank Kingdon, leader of the Smear and Purge Congress campaign in 1942; Freda Kirchway, publisher of the Red magazine, *The Nation*, and Bruce Bliven of the foreign-owned Left-Wing *New Republic*. *The Nation* and the *New Republic* have both been barred from distribution to the armed services.

Behind the brain-trust is an efficient research staff headed by Mrs. James P. Warburg and former Congressman Thomas R. Amlie. A member of the National Committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union and branded a Communist by his own state (Wis.) Legislature, Comrade Amlie believes in "a fundamental revision of the present social order on broad collectivist principles."

On March 9, 1944, Congressman Martin Dies accused PAC, the Left-Wing National Lawyers Guild and the Communist National Federation for Constitutional Liberties of conducting a Communist-dominated campaign to destroy the American system of government. Also included in the conspiracy, he said, were two satellites, Walter Winchell and the alien-born, alias-concealed "author" of the smear book, *Under Cover*, "John Roy Carlson." PAC, Dies charged, is the cover-up for the Communist Party. The effect, he declared, is that Sidney Hillman, instead of Earl Browder, is now the Red political leader in America.

Dies said the three organizations and their stooges were promoting a political revolution by smearing Congress and undermining the faith of the American people in constitutional government.* A few weeks later the Dies Committee issued a report on PAC in which the charges were repeated.

Hillman branded the document "an attack on five and one-half million patriotic men and women," despite the fact the Dies report emphasized "there are millions of these rank and file CIO members who are wholly guiltless of any sympathy with Communism." The report added, however, that "the same cannot be said of thousands of the leaders . . . who are most energetically carrying on the activities of the CIO Political Action Committee."

Reid Robinson, president of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, CIO, retorted that Dies was a "pro-fascist, a defeatist and a liar."

The CIO Executive Committee which established PAC includes 18 members whose records, according to evidence in government files, indicate that they have followed the Communist "party line" *with undeviating loyalty.*

PAC was announced during the CIO convention held in Philadelphia in early November, 1943. Mrs. Roosevelt was the principal speaker. She praised the CIO for extending its "no strike" pledge—while CIO strikes mushroomed

*** Dies speech was greeted with a standing ovation by his colleagues. Only three Congressmen have come to the defense of PAC — Arthur Klein, Emanuel Celler and Sam Dickstein, all from New York. Dickstein has just appealed to Governor Dewey to release Communist Morris U. Schappes from jail. Comrade Schappes, a former City College teacher, was convicted of perjury after testifying falsely before a Legislative committee investigating Communist activity in New York schools.**

across the nation—and asked the delegates to undertake an educational program to teach people to "recognize conditions."

Henry Wallace was the main attraction at PAC's first national conference held in New York's Park Central Hotel on January 14-15, 1944. The conference was indistinguishable from a bureaucrats' convention; administrators, bureau chiefs and "specialists" were all over the place . . . which literally crawled with Communists. Urgent invitations were sent to 72 government officials . . . the Communists didn't need invitations.

While building his PAC machine, Sidney Hillman has succeeded in doing something the Dies Committee and Congress have tried to do but have failed to accomplish. *Hillman actually got Reds off the government payroll.*

But there's a joker. They are working for PAC. And they have been "lend-leased" *only* for the duration of the campaign.

Heading the list is **C. B. Baldwin**, former $10,000 a year Farm Security Administrator, now Hillman's chief assistant. Baldwin, one time aide to Henry Wallace, attempted to collectivize American farms and was denounced by a Congressional Committee for making "loans and grants of Federal funds for just about everything from marriage licenses to funeral expenses . . . lodge dues and poll taxes." Baldwin got his job with PAC in November 1943 but drew his government pay until April 11, 1944, almost six months later.

Another prize exhibit is **Charlotte Carr**, who left a $6,500.00 job with the War Manpower Commission to become PAC regional director at New York. She was formerly head of Hull House, Sidney's social service *alma mater* in Chicago. While in charge of New York's Home Relief Bureau she permitted the Communists to assume virtual control.

Practically speaking, PAC is not a labor outfit. It does have a facade of top flight CIO unioneers, but behind the scenes it is staffed almost exclusively by non-CIO professionals . . . most of them propaganda experts lately transplanted from government agencies.

There is Russian-born **Joseph Gaer**, for example. His real name is Fishman. He was on the U. S. Treasury staff as a "consulting expert" at $6,500.00 a year. Most of his government time was spent, however, writing a biography of Henry Morgenthau, the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since . . . William Woodin. Now he is editing handbooks and propaganda leaflets for PAC.

Fishman-Gaer ought to do a good job advancing the cause of a Soviet America because a few years back he was editor-in-chief of Harry Hopkins' Communist-controlled Federal Writers Project of WPA. (New Dealer Hopkins was once a registered Socialist.) Prior to that, Comrade Gaer was chief functionary of the Communist Party's *Agitprop* — the agitation and propaganda department.

And there's **Verda Barnes**, friend of Mrs. Roosevelt and one-time aide to Secretary Ickes and former supervisor of projects for the Red-tinged National

Youth Administration. She left her job as Assistant Director of Information for the War Manpower Commission at $4,500.00 a year to become Director of the Women's Division of PAC.

Ben Shehn, understudy of Diego Rivera, Communist painter, and poster expert for OWI, is now Art Director for PAC. And PAC is using at least one OWI poster paid for with taxpayers money.

"Ping" Perry, "proletarian" son of a mid-west manufacturer, ran a gambling joint in Puerto Rico, joined the staff of OPA and now directs PAC publicity.

Emil Corwin, recently in charge of radio for the soil conservation division of the Department of Agriculture, is now Chief of PAC's radio division.

George S. Mitchell resigned as Assistant Administrator of the FSA to become PAC Director for the southeastern states.

Amar Lehman, Cooperative Section Chief of FSA, has joined PAC as Director for Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico, Utah and Arizona.

Etcetera, etcetera, etcetera. It could go on endlessly.

How—and *why*—high-salaried government officials and other "essential" employees came to be released when all other workers are practically "frozen" in their present jobs is an interesting question.

That CIO-PAC is merely a "front" for subversive Left-Wingers and government payrollers is evidenced in the close contact maintained by telephone, telegraph and personal visits with New Deal officials and the White House Palace Guard, plus the complete cooperation extended by the Communist press.

PAC has been using the telephone overtime while ordinary citizens are implored to limit their calls to five minutes to help win the war. Even Mrs. Roosevelt by her overtime calls from "Soviet Sidney" and "Beany Baldwin" is put in the position of placing "political action" above "winning the war."

That goes too for telephonic exchanges between PAC and David K. Niles, born Neyhus, and Jonathan Daniels, two of President Roosevelt's political secretaries "with a passion for asininity."*

Others whose official and private numbers are in PAC's little black book and to whom regular calls are made include: Judge Samuel Rosenman, special counsel to the President; Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins; OWI Director and ex-American Labor Party leader Elmer Davis; Maurey Maverick, former Congressman, Presidential pet and head of the Smaller War Plants Corporation; Vice President Wallace and Mordecai Ezekiel, economist for the Department of Agriculture.

In a recent Dies Committee report a total of 77 Federal employees in 27 departments and agencies, including the Department of Justice, are listed as having been "in frequent communication" with officials of PAC during the primary campaigns. Chief Investigator Robert Stripling in communicating with Attorney

*** Former I.W.W. agitator Niles, or Neyhus, is a great hand at using the telephone. While assistant to Harry Hopkins he acquired a taste for "the horses." Hopkins, they say, is just "nuts" about race horses. In 1940 Niles made 27 long distance phone calls from Washington to Boston to Lou Smith, operator of Rockingham Park Race Track. He even called Smith at Miami, Florida, during "the season." Probably getting the latest "hot tips." The taxpayers payed the bill.**

General Biddle offered evidence that such calls were made during periods of intense pre-election activity in Alabama where the Dies Committee Vice Chairman, Joe Starnes, was defeated; in Idaho where Senator D. Worth Clark lost the election, and in Texas where Chairman Dies was PAC-pressured out of the race.

PAC telegrams also were highly illuminating. Some were directed to government employees and in a tone which suggested that PAC was already running the government. On March 1, 1944, to cite a typical instance of this insolent attitude, P. G. Beck of the FSA office in Indianapolis received a wire which read:

PLEASE HAVE PICARD CHECK ON QUALIFICATIONS OF MICHAEL DESMOND, NOW WORKING FOR OPA AT COLUMBUS, OHIO. HE IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR WORK IN THIS REGION, LARGELY ON PUBLICITY.

This attitude of proprietorship was also much in evidence in another wire received by Carl McPeak, labor representative for the War Production Board at Dallas, Texas. The telegram, addressed to a government employee being paid $5,600.00 a year by American taxpayers, read:

MR. HILLMAN DESIRES THAT YOU REPRESENT CIO-PAC AT THE MEETING AT DALLAS APRIL 13 AND ALSO AT THE STATE INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL MEETING THE 14TH AND 15TH. FOLLOWING THAT, HE DESIRES YOU MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO BE IN NEW YORK APRIL 17.

A telegram addressed to a Hollywood studio discloses a PAC characteristic. Requesting the services of two top-flight press agents, the wire concluded: "social consciousness essential"—a Communist emphasis.

Many PAC telegrams are practical . . . about money. For example, one from Ralph J. Davis, an Idaho politician: **"WHERE IS THE DOUGH?"**

The steady growth of Communist influence and power in the United States has been possible to a large degree because the revolutionary forces never lacked for money. From "liberal" but stupid millionaires, from "progressive" but unenlightened "intelligentsia" and from "downtrodden" workers have come millions of dollars—yes, *millions*—to finance the perpetual campaign to socialize America.

As the current spearhead of this anti-American conspiracy, CIO-PAC is literally rolling in money.

On the very day PAC was organized, Sidney Hillman collected $500,000.00 from the CIO and four of its unions, a goodly sum with which to start business. At the same time CIO workers throughout the country were being persuaded to "kick in." In the Fleetwing airplane factory, Bristol, Penna., the union posted this bulletin:

> **"Acting under instructions from the international union, I have been ordered to collect the sum of $1.00, an *assessment* which has been levied on every member of our local union. This *must* be paid by July 10, 1943. Your steward will collect the money and give you a receipt for same."**

This notice, signed by the treasurer of the local, was supplemented by a letter from the local president which told the membership:

> **"Sad as it may seem, in this great Democracy of ours, Congressmen must be greased, that is wined, dined and bribed for their votes, and they can be very effectively. This greasing process costs a tidy sum with every session of Congress. This is what your dollar goes for."**

This insulting statement that Congressmen can be bought for a sandwich and a bottle of wine is the rankest sort of nonsense, of course. But that the CIO money was *intended* for political corruption through PAC, or otherwise, is obvious.

Shortly after he started to get his slush fund together, Hillman told Postmaster General Walker about it.

"I wish you would give some of that $700,000.00 to the Democratic National Committee, Sidney," said Walker, half seriously.

"I'll be glad to, Frank," replied the practical Hillman. "Just get your Democratic majority in Congress to repeal the Smith-Connally Act."

PAC never gave any money to the Democratic National Committee . . . PAC just took over and financed activities usually within the Committee's province. PAC helped finance Democratic candidates, such as the campaign of Senator Claude Pepper of Florida.

Hillman admitted to a House of Representatives committee on August 28, 1944 that PAC had spent $408,069.00 before the 4th Term campaign even got started.

It was PAC's free use of money in campaigns *against* Democrats who happened to be anti-Communist and pro-American, however, which brought its activities to public notice and caused demands to be made for both Congressional investigation and criminal prosecution.

At a Senate hearing Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan said PAC "clearly had violated" the corrupt practices act when it accepted $100,000 00 from each

of four big CIO unions. When Senator Joseph Ball of Minnesota asked Mr. Hillman if PAC posters of President Roosevelt bearing the line "1-A in our draft" could be "squared" with provisions of the Smith-Connally act banning campagn contributions by labor unions, John Abt, counsel for PAC, naively argued that the cost of the poster was an expenditure and not a contribution to a campaign.

The "packed" Congressional probes got nowhere fast. Attorney General Francis Biddle, who once wrote poetry for an official Communist publication partly owned by his wife, and edited by Robert Minor, until recently General Secretary of the Communist Party, could find no violation of law. In a letter to Representative Howard Smith, author of the law, Biddle gave PAC a clean bill of health.

[*If the records of the Department of Justice are still intact, they will show that Attorney General Biddle was a financial contributor to the Communist movement in the early 20's.*

[*A further indication of his attitude and sympathies was evidenced in his remarks to a gathering of the New Deal's Left-Wing inner circle at Washington's exclusive Cosmos Club in early March, 1942. The "political fight" for liberalism, the Attorney General declared, must be carried on regardless of the war. AND THIS at a time when conscientious Americans of both political persuasions were agreed that politics-as-usual should be abandoned for the duration.*

[*"Hold the political trench," cried Mr. Biddle, as he proceeded to picture the passing of our two-party system of government by declaring that the New Deal "was not just a group of theorists or liberals . . . it is a POLITICAL PARTY tied up with the labor movement under an able political leader."*

[*The meeting was sponsored by the foreign-owned NEW REPUBLIC, a weekly magazine described by a New York State Legislative Committee which investigated subversive movements as an "advocate of revolutionary socialism." Michael Straight, Washington correspondent for the publication, was toastmaster and in his unguarded closing remarks he said:* ***"The New Deal is more dynamic than Fascism and more revolutionary than Communism."***]

"Your own letter discloses," replied Congressman Smith, "that labor unions have made, and the Political Action Committee has received, contributions . . . The law, in plain and simple words, makes it a crime for a political committee to receive contributions from a labor union or for a labor union to make such contribution . . . I am sure that no one is so naive as to believe that the CIO Political Action Committee is collecting these huge sums of money on a national scale for the purpose of giving Sunday school picnics.

"The only result that I can see of the Department's investigation is that the accused was given three months in which to persuade the Department of Justice that it was not guilty. In three minutes I could have given your investigators

enough evidence to justify presentation of the case to a grand jury, but no investigator from your Department evinced the slightest interest."

Mr. Biddle has not yet answered Representative Smith's letter.

In the meantime, smarter lawyers than Attorney General Biddle advised Hillman & Co. to "reorganize" *within the law.*

The result was the announcement that a new organization had been formed —the National *Citizens* Political Action Committee—to take over the job of fund raising . . . and that PAC's cash on hand was "frozen" for the duration . . . of the campaign.

Sidney Hillman is President of both organizations. They both have the same Treasurer—who has two pockets. They both have the same legal counsel. They both have the same offices. They use the same staff. Only the "window dressing" is different. They will "work together as a team," said Sidney.

Within 48 hours PAC got some more legal advice, and now CIO-PAC and NC-PAC will both pass the hat for "voluntary" contributions *from individuals* — including employers.

Max Perlow, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Furniture Workers, CIO, in the union's official organ, "explains" to the membership:

> **"Political action is the need of the hour . . . But we must remember that political action and finances go hand in hand. The CIO is told: 'You can't use any monies in the election campaign except *direct contributions* from individuals.' *But, we know better than that . . .*"**

What does Mr. Perlow "know better"—that by some tricky device the CIO, built on defiance of law, means to heed the legal letter of the law . . . but violate its spirit?

Since the law limits expenditures of a political committee to three million dollars, the two PAC committees would seemingly be limited to spending six million dollars, which is hardly enough for an outfit that is determined to attain its ends at all costs . . . and hang the expense.

To get around the law and spend limitless sums the CIO has thought up a great idea—each CIO local will conduct a campaign of its own . . . and the law says *nothing at all* about *local* committees. Max Perlow makes it all clear when he says:

> **"Members and leaders of the United Furniture Workers, wherever you are, act immediately on the program in support of the NC-PAC. One Dollar per CIO member; 50 cents for the Local activity and 50 cents to the NC-PAC. Let's count noses—one dollar can be a real contribution to the cause of humanity."**

This sort of appeal—together with ads in CIO publications reading "Your Dollar for political action would help to bring Victory, Peace and Security; BUY YOUR POLITICAL ACTION STAMP TODAY" — has already brought results . . . better than a dollar per CIO member in some instances. California has already chipped in $1.50 per member.

The Pennsylvania branch of PAC plans to collect $5,000,000.00 for use in the 1944 election, according to David J. McDonald, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Steel Workers, CIO, and finance chairman of PAC. In a pep talk to his collectors he said:

> **"I hope we get $25,000,000. We want all we can get. The more we spend, the better Congress we will have . . . It's as simple as that.**
>
> **"Go out and get the dough if you want political action to succeed."**

How the leaders of Sidney's own union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, "go out and get the dough" is a revelation.

On August 14, 1944 a little dinner was given in suite 2-B of the Hotel Commodore in New York. It was arranged by the Amalgamated "in honor of Jacob S. Potofsky, Secretary-Treasurer of the union." But strangely enough only fifteen persons were invited. They turned out to be fifteen leading laundry owners who have union contracts with the Amalgamated.

Mr. Potofsky and Hyman S. Blumberg, vice president of the union and state secretary of the American Labor Party, made speeches on the importance of a campaign fund to re-elect President Roosevelt. It was suggested that the fifteen laundry owners present constitute themselves a committee to call a general meeting and get all in the industry to contribute $250.00 to $5,000.00 each for PAC. All of the prospective "contributors" have collective bargaining contracts with the union.

There is a difference as to just who was present when talk developed of businesses being wrecked if contributions were not forthcoming. Mr. Potofsky and Mr. Blumberg admitted there was a discussion of raising funds for PAC. It was acknowledged that similar meetings have been held almost daily by Mr. Hillman's lieutenants with other employers who have contracts with the union.

"But," said Mr. Blumberg, "this talk of contributions came from the laundry owners, not from Mr. Potofsky or myself. *Everything was strictly legal.* We left the laundry owners after Mr. Potofsky said *they* seemed to be anxious to aid in President Roosevelt's election, and we said that we would *let* the laundry owners work out the situation themselves." Then he added:

> **"Whoever said there was any shakedown is a contemptible liar . . . *Everything was strictly legal.*"**
>
> **"We intend to rally all of these people, nation-wide, to solicit their support."**

The money being collected from the manufacturers by the CIO for PAC will not be turned over immediately . . . not until after Sidney Hillman has testified at the impending Dies Committee hearings . . . not until after he has explained under oath that PAC is "broke." Then the funds will be paid into the PAC "war chest" through NC-PAC, which is nothing more than a subversive Siamese twin, a legal subterfuge and a tricky bookkeeping device.

Former Senator George W. Norris is "Honorary Chairman" of NC-PAC. It is the organization Mrs. Roosevelt, Sidney Hillman, James Patton and Gardner Jackson conferred about at that midnight session back in 1942. Clark Foreman, a Rosenwald Fund beneficiary, former aide to Haorld Ickes and head of the Communist "transmission belt," the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, is Secretary.

The make-up of its national committee gives the clue to its character as a Fellow-Traveling "front" movement. Included on the committee, to mention a few, are:

James A. Dombrowski, former head of Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn. According to the *Nashville Tennesseean*, a leading southern Democratic newspaper, this *Folk School* "is a center, if not *the* center for the spreading of Communist doctrine in thirteen southeastern states." U. S. Customs balked in 1932 when he tried to bring into this country from Russia Red posters the government claimed were "seditious." Mrs. Roosevelt was a supporter of his Communist college. [*See documentary proof on opposite page*]

Elmer A. Benson, who was endorsed for Governor of Minnesota by the Communist Party and who used state funds to pay his expenses to New York to attend a Communist demonstration. In turn, he endorsed the Communist Jewish People's Committee headed by Welwel Warszower alias Robert William Weiner, Treasurer of the Communist Party until convicted of passport forgery. Benson was also a sponsor of the Communist-controlled American Youth Congress, to which Mrs. Roosevelt was a fairy godmother.

Miss Zara DuPont, who financed scholarships to Communist Commonwealth College of Mena, Ark. This "college" was convicted in 1940 on charges of anarchy, displaying the Soviet hammer-and-sickle emblem, and failing to display the American flag as required by Arkansas statutes.

Aubrey Williams, former Deputy to Harry Hopkins, head of the National Youth Administration and financial supporter of Commonwealth College, who arranged to provide this Communist training school with a government subsidy . . . at taxpayers' expense.

Oscar Lange, Chicago professor who just returned from Moscow after two weeks of conferences with Soviet Dictator Stalin.

Francis E. McMahon, recently dismissed from his professorship at Notre Dame because of his Red activities and now columnist for the Left-Wing New York Post.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 23, 1940

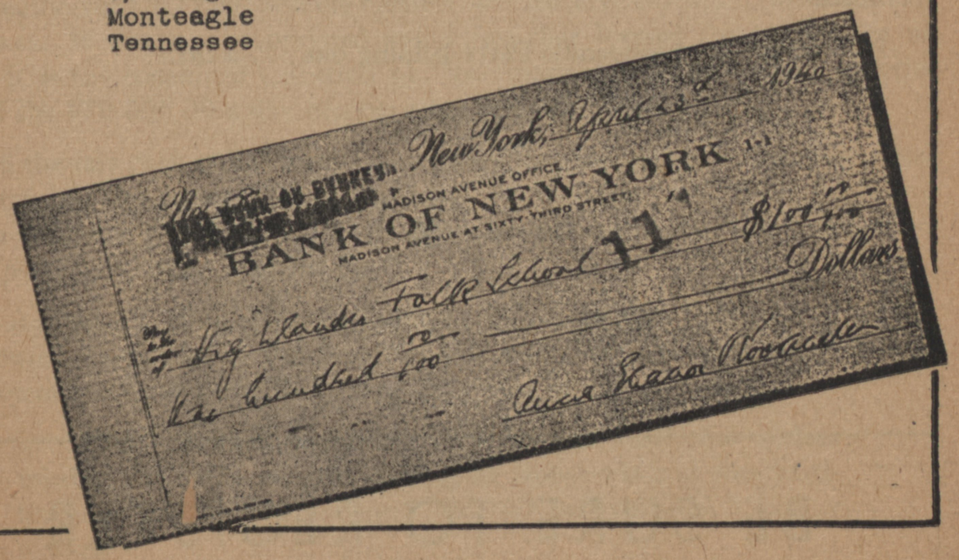
My dear Mr. Dombrowski:

Mrs. Roosevelt asked me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 13th, and to send you this check which she is very glad to contribute to the scholarship fund of the Highlander Folk School.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina C. Thompson
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. James Dombrowski
c/o Highlander Folk School
Monteagle
Tennessee



Louis Adamic, apologist for the Soviet Union and denounced as a Communist in Congress by Representative Fred E. Busbey on March 13th last.

And **Paul Robeson**, negro baritone, who was living in Moscow when Sidney Hillman was commuting between Union Square in New York and Red Square in Moscow; who became a Soviet citizen, and whose son is now being educated in Russia.

A check of reports, records and membership lists on file in various government agencies revealed that in addition to those listed above, 8 other members of NC-PAC's committee are leaders of organizations in the All-American Slav Congress which was launched at Moscow, August 10, 1941, by an All-Slav Congress assembled "with the approval" of the Soviet Government, the purpose of which is to bring the Balkan countries under Soviet domination. They are **Leo Krzycki, Zlatko Balovic, Zarko M. Bunzick, John D. Butkovich, Stephan Zeman, Jr., Jaroslav J. Zmrhal, V. X. Platex and W. T. Osowski.**

This whole motley crew presumes to tell the American people what candidates they must vote for in the coming elections.

With such a fine complement of Reds manning this Trojan Horse, there is reason for the Communists and the Communist press to go into ecstacy over PAC. The Communist *Daily Worker*, July 15, 1944, tells its readers:

> **"Sidney Hillman and associates are to be congratulated for a great job done."**

With typical Communist gall, it adds:

> **"It is to be hoped, of course, that the Democratic Party will itself wage an aggressive campaign for the President."**

We—the Communist-CIO-New Dealers—have done a "great job" for *our* candidate —

How about the Democratic Party helping out . . . a little?

■

BE SURE TO REGISTER

PART IV

PAC IN ACTION

The CIO political action campaign is the most amazing demonstration of Communist technique ever developed anywhere. It is the most dangerous instrument for seizure of political power ever devised. It is the most cunning, destructive, anti-democratic activity ever injected into American life.

The sordid credo of PAC is set forth in the very first sentence of its *Political Primer for All Americans*, more than 2,000,000 copies of which have already been distributed. "Politics," the *primer* states, "is the science of how *who* gets what, when and why." Nowhere a trace of the ideal of all civilized people that "the good of man *must* be the end of the science of politics."

In planning to establish himself as the prime power in American politics and government, Hillman realized his first task was to establish PAC as a great and threatening force with which present political parties, Congress and even the individual voter must reckon.

This was immediately made possible by the unofficial power conferred upon Hillman by the Administration's so-called "labor policy" to collect a private income tax—the official right to extort tribute from workers compelled by the War Labor Board to join the CIO or to join the "ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-fed."

Actually, the CIO rank and file member was the first victim of Hillman's lust for power. It was misappropriated union fees that formed the foundation of PAC. It is the continued extortion of "voluntary" donations which supplies most of the $70,000.00 a day necessary for scheduled PAC activity.

And the fact that a CIO member may be a Republican or an anti-New Deal Democrat does not exempt him either from "contributing" to PAC's 4th Term fund or supporting PAC's local, state and national candidates. He follows the PAC "party line" or he loses his job.

On August 25, 1944, Charles Paddock, Iowa-Nebraska CIO Red Cross Relief Director, announced he had been forced to resign because his personal politics were not in accord wth the PAC program. Said he:

> **"CIO leaders thought my work 'on the side' was undermining the CIO's all-out backing of Roosevelt and sought to have me transferred to New York. When I refused, I had to resign."**

On June 22, 1944, the president and vice president of a CIO local in a gun plant in Springfield, Mass., and a member of another CIO local were suspended for *allegedly* backing a Congressional candidate opposed by CIO-PAC.

On August 24, 1944 a Chicago war plant lathe worker, expelled from CIO because he refused to circulate PAC's propaganda, filed suit in Superior Court for return of union dues on the grounds his membership had been obtained by fraud. The CIO, he charged, is not a labor organization but a "New Deal partisan political organization serving as a propaganda machine for Communism."

On August 21, 1944, Joseph Beck, a member of the Salt Lake City PAC committee, resigned and charged that "minutes of meetings and documents in our hands prove definitely that we were instructed to vote Democratic straight down from President to Representative."

On August 28, 1944 Dock J. Williams, former president of Local 25, CIO Packinghouse Workers, told the Committee on Campaign Expenditures that he and 13 executive committee members were fired when they refused a $6,000.00 PAC shake-down. In scoffing at Hillman's claim that $700,000.00 only had been "donated" by CIO unions, Williams stated that the Chicago area quota alone was a million dollars.

At the July membership meeting of the Communist-controlled CIO National Maritime Union in New York, John Sweat, Chairman of NMU's PAC, told the assembled seamen:

> **"We've got to get 5,000 signatures for Marcantonio. We've got a NMU campaign hall at 89th St. and 2nd Ave. You are to report there daily."**

When the response was not what PAC leaders expected, members of the union received a letter on Marcantonio stationery, signed by Abner Green, a writer for the Communist *Daily Worker*, which read:

> **"We have discussed with your organization the fact that you have NOT kept your pledge to canvass regularly in the campaign to reelect Congressman Vito Marcantonio. Your organization has asked us to write you *this last time* . . . your help is needed . . . *this is your last opportunity.*"**

When PAC put on additional pressure a group of 20 CIO seamen appeared at the headquarters of the Seafarers International Union, AFL, and told SIU agent, Paul Hall:

> **"We're quitting the NMU. We're good union men, but we're not going to ring door bells for this man Marcantonio, even though Joe Curran (Red NMU president) orders us to.**
>
> **"We know what it means to refuse Curran's orders to canvass voters and get pledges. We won't get shipped out again and pretty soon we'll be expelled and out of jobs. That's why we want to join the A. F. of L."**

But PAC's authority is not limited to the CIO. Actually a collectivist revolutionary party instead of a "labor" pressure bloc, PAC has the allegiance and financial support of all Communist, Socialist, New Deal and Leftist groups and organizations in the United States. The Communist Political Association, false-whisker disguise of the "dissolved" American Communist Party, has turned over the facilities and funds of its 100,000 membership. The International Ladies Garment Workers, whose members previously were required *under penalty of fines* to turn out for political rallies, is pledged to support the activity of PAC. The American Labor Party and the Liberal Party also offer devotion and dollars to PAC's 4th Term campaign.

PAC, the CIO and most of the other Red and Leftist groups have already issued "pledge cards" to members committing them to vote "the Hillman way." Registration booths have been set up in shops. Workers are coerced into disclosing their political ties and voting preference.

One of PAC's first acts was to issue a form letter to CIO membership which began:

> **"Dear Member: Today we have a Congress which is dominated by Tory Republicans and southern poll-taxers who wish to see labor crushed, the people burdened with heavy taxes and an ever-rising cost of living, and who are working toward a negotiated peace with Hitler."**

Enclosed with each letter were two voting registration forms with instructions that one be sent to the board of elections and *the other returned to the* union. The CIO is abolishing the secret ballot—safeguard of true representative government.

Although PAC announces its effort as a "win the war" campaign, its propaganda centers entirely upon the winning of a 4th Term, the "needs" of organized labor and the necessity of a "peace table" which will further New Deal plans for an international Utopia and the consolidation of Soviet Russia's political and territorial aspirations.

The issues of the 4th Term election campaign are insolently dismissed by Hillman as a feud between President Roosevelt and ex-President Hoover! As far as PAC is concerned, Thomas E. Dewey is running against Ham Fish and Gerald L. K. Smith.

PAC propaganda is manufactured and distributed in the best mass production manner. The editorial policy, political susceptibility and publication deadline of almost every newspaper and magazine in the United States, particularly foreign language and Negro publications, are indexed at PAC headquarters in New York.

Cunningly written and well illustrated pamphlets; multi-colored posters; handbooks for the amateur "precinct worker;" catechisms for CIO shop "stew-

ards;" radio scripts; folders; stickers; paper napkins—by ream and bale—flood the post office.

Despite the serious paper shortage, PAC, in the brief period of two months, has used more than five tons of newsprint and twelve tons of other paper stock. And, as PAC frankly states, *this is only the beginning.*

In addition, PAC has produced motion pictures, animated cartoon signs, "ideological" phonograph records. According to Saul Mills, secretary of the Communist-controlled N. Y. CIO Industrial Council, in New York City alone 100 billboards will be plastered; 30,000 store windows filled with posters; 5000 shop stewards high-pressure workers in factories; 30,000 "agents" conduct a house-to-house campaign and, in a single one-day mass drive, 50 spot radio talks will be broadcast; 60 street corner rallies held and 2,000,000 "educational" registration phamphlets distributed, probably with the morning milk by CIO milkmen as was done recently in Michigan.

PAC "news" items, feature articles, editorials and even comic strips are distributed indiscriminately and free of charge to metropolitan dailies and union publications. Already 1300 labor papers, 150 Negro newspapers and 1108 foreign language publications are receiving weekly releases of such propaganda.

Posters—120,000 of them — are being tacked to bulletin boards in war plants and upon rest room walls and are being "accepted"—*or else*—by proprietors of cafes and restaurants frequented by the comrades.

But it is in the divisions of booklets and radio that PAC centers its most elaborate and militant propaganda.

In *"What Every Canvasser Should Know,"* PAC offers a post-graduate course in neighborhood meddling and "social pressure," concentrating upon the housewife who, it blandly assumes, will use her fund of gossip in home, church, school and other community centers and her "purchasing power" in neighborhood retail stores to persuade "contacts" to vote the CIO 4th Term ticket.

These PAC-4th Termites first are instructed in the guile of crawling into neighborhood dwellings and, once there, challenging the patriotism of the neighbor if he or she is not enthusiastic for the Commander-in-Chief. "Love your neighbor—and organize him" is the slogan. But the neighbor is to be regarded as a "fascist" unless he is for purging "difficult" members of Congress, "collaboration" with Soviet Russia, a "planned economy" at home and the establishment of a permanent haven in the United States for all the refugees of Europe.

Communistic "cells" thus developed in all neighborhoods become minor bureaus of the CIO Gestapo "Intelligence." The canvasser is instructed to keep a file on each of his neighbors. This file must contain the name, address, number of persons, ages and occupations of each member of the family; their voting registration, political party preference and past voting history; what newspapers and literature they read; personal, social or economic problems; willingness or reluct-

ance to join a Political Action Committee "club," and what "voluntary assistance" they will or might "accept" as aid in adjusting, say, a delinquent grocery bill. Duplicates of these Gestapo files are to be sent to PAC headquarters.

The Left-Wing New York *Post* boasts that: "It will be simple for them (PAC) to pick 10,000 cards out of their master file, ship them off to Washington where the batch can be shown to stubborn Representatives. The Congressman will, in effect, be told: 'Here is a list of those who are registered in your district. And they can vote as a bloc if a primary fight against you develops!"

At the conclusion of the first "visit"—and unless the neighbor is American enough to throw the intruder out once the real nature of the meddling is recognized—the canvasser is enjoined to leave copies of President Roosevelt's "rewrite" of the original Bill of Rights, a reprint of the foreign-owned Red *New Republic's* "Purge Congress" supplement, issued originally in 1942 in an effort —unsuccessful—to force anti-Communist members of House and Senate out of office, and a copy of *"Write Today!,"* a "news report" issued by the National Citizens PAC.

"Write Today!" is an expensively issued catalog of blatant misstatement, slyly altered statistics and vicious libels upon members of Congress. Among the "facts" are listed such phony, juvenile Communistic declarations as that the Republican Party deliberately created the world-wide depression; kept the nation from preparing for war through blocking Lend-Lease, Arms Embargo and Selective Service legislation and encouraged Japan in her sneak attack on Pearl Harbor; that President Roosevelt and the New Deal, with the assistance and support, particularly of the CIO—and in no way impelled by the exigencies of war nor aided by Congressional action nor the genius of "capitalistic" industries—overcame the depression, restored the American standard of living and girded the nation for successful prosecution of World War II.

In one manual PAC workers are instructed to have "cars available" to take voters to the polls. This is a luxury neither the Democrats nor the Republicans will be able to utilize in 1944. Their partisans will have to walk. But CIO organizers have a White House approved grant of almost unlimited gasoline—"gas" rationing will not worry them.

In the preface to the *Speakers Manual,* PAC pleads for the enlistment of both union and non-union speakers, but limits acceptance to those potential Demostheneses who believe, among other specified things, that there must be a stop to "Red-baiting" and "Jew-baiting"—by law; an extention of "labor's rights"—to the end that the "worker" shall take over all the means of production and the government, and the establishment of "a lasting peace" and "a better world"—in complete accord and cooperation with Soviet Russia.

The "facts" disseminated in the *Speakers Manual* are based upon CIO "investigations"—notably at marked variance with even New Deal official statisticians. "In presenting facts," the manual instructs, "give authority which will make them acceptable to your listeners. You should say: 'or as President Roose-

velt said ———' " and, the instructions suggest, the message should be repeated *. . . again and again and again.*

Particular stress is laid upon the value of agitation among negroes. For this purpose a horde of PAC "Carpetbaggers" has invaded the South.

CIO strikes in the war industries are dismissed with the naive argument that idleness caused by them is less than that "caused in an average year of illness."

The published official record of CIO is confined to platitudinous red-white-and-blue quotations from its leaders on "winning the war"—with a careful deletion of such as that made by Harry Posner, alias Thomas V. de Lorenzo, recently sentenced to fine and imprisonment for perjury in connection with federal-labor matters, who declared he would unhesitatingly *let soldiers die on the battlefront for lack of planes* if that were necessary "to preserve our (Labor's) rights" and the threat of insurrection made by Richard Frankensteen and unanimously adopted in resolution by the CIO Auto Workers that, if Congress refused to pass the Communistic $25,000.00 salary limitation ". . . such action will be deemed by us as complete justification for the *reconsideration of our willingness . . . to aid the successful prosecution of the war.*"

Despite the importance placed upon the home, hall and street corner speaker, it is obvious, however, that PAC plans to make greatest use of the radio.

In its *"Radio Handbook,"* PAC presents a belligerent challenge to all who might choose to defy the "revolutionary" steam-roller tactics set in motion by CIO.

After freely admitting the radio stations belong to the owners, PAC bases its defiance upon the specious premise that "the air belongs to the people."

Smugly assuming that such a Soviet syllogism precludes all argument, the manual then states the procedure by which PAC Radio Committees shall bring pressure. The first tactic is to camouflage CIO 4th Term propaganda as a "straight talk," "round-table discussion," or "dramatic radio play" concerned with Red Cross Blood Banks or other such subjects as might come under the designation of "public interest"—for radio stations can and do lose their federal license if they refuse to devote a specified amount of time to "programs that serve the public interest."

Should the radio station operator refuse to grant either free or paid time, the Committees are instructed to demand that the refusal be committed to writing and that this written refusal be sent to James Lawrence Fly, New Deal Czar of the Federal Communications Commission, who never has been known to let a Comrade down.

But once the radio station operator is bludgeoned into granting such time, the Committees are instructed to "get on the beam"—insist that everything pertaining to CIO-PAC and NC-PAC is of "vital public interest;" refuse to submit scripts to station censorship; bring pressure to have "labor-baiting" and "Red-baiting" programs on the same station stopped under threat of an inspired campaign of letters-to-the-sponsors and complaints to Comrade Fly.

The first application of the Fly-trap technique was made August 12, 1944, when the Federal Communications Commission issued subpoenas upon demand of the CIO United Automobile Workers for radio scripts by Fulton Lewis Jr., Boake Carter, Upton Close, DeWitt Emery, Sheelah Carter and Col. Robert McCormick, all nationally known as authoritative anti-Communist commentators.

Four days later, Hillman's Man Friday, Richard Frankensteen, accompanied by CIO counsel Ernest Goodman, appeared before the Radio Commission in Washington and urged cancellation of the license of radio station WHCK of Columbus, Ohio, on grounds that it had permitted programs "unfair to labor" and that such broadcasts coincided with the program and slogans in the Republican Party platform for 1944.

Prepared speeches, spot announcements, cue-and-line Round Table discussions and, so far, thirteen 15-minute PAC transcriptions are ready for use over the air.

But PAC's plans for crowding the airwaves with 4th Term propaganda are not based only on the "direct" methods outlined in its *Radio Manual*. Much of its success—perhaps the greater part—is expected to result from organized pressure upon manufacturers who sponsor radio programs. Glib field agents are already "contacting" these advertisers. Should their "persuasion" fail, the PAC neighborhood cells are prepared to put into action the best known of all Communist "non-violence" weapons—*the boycott*.

PAC is even planning to buy its own radio stations. Once Comrade Fly has been "induced" to revoke a station's license, that station, with its value depreciated if not destroyed, is automatically placed on the "open market"—and "sale" of any radio station arbitrarily depends upon the okay of Comrade Fly and his submissive commission. Significantly, demand for revocation of licenses was followed immediately with instructions contained in the *CIO News* that union locals should make application to the FCC for frequency modulation licenses to "insure labor a chance to get its story to the public."

With this gigantic press, soap-box and radio propoganda machine in motion, PAC has already had telling effect in boring-within the A.F.L., in proselytizing the armed forces, and in influencing voters in local and state primaries.

Even before the Hillman-bossed National Democratic Convention was over in Chicago, five large A.F.L. unions had already notified the Boss Pants Maker that they had been "converted." Immediately following this dereliction, William Green, President of the A. F. of L., issued an order that all A. F. of L. unions "cease and desist" cooperation with PAC. Anticipating Green's order 200 A. F. of L. leaders in New York had denounced PAC for its "disruptive policies."

The first A. F. of L. *News Letter* published after Green's action declared that PAC did not *"give a tinker's dam"* for President Roosevelt or any other candidate, and added:

"The only hope for post-war survival of the CIO, its strategists figure, is the election of a national administration *so committed to the CIO that it will use the machinery of the government to support and perpetuate the CIO* during a period when nothing else could hold it together."

The article concluded with the flat statement:

"Perhaps you would like to know the strongest anti-labor force in America today. It is the CIO-PAC."

Army camps and Navy bases are inundated with PAC propaganda. CIO members in uniform act as "transmission belts." The U.S. Maritime Service, high-pressured by the communistic National Maritime Union, serves as an auxiliary. The House Military Affairs Committee was asked on September 7, 1944 to investigate charges by an officer that movement of food and munitions was delayed while soldiers and Army equipment were pressed into service to hurry CIO-PAC propaganada to the French battlefronts.

The Serviceman's vote is PAC's chronic headache. Continued CIO strikes back home have embittered him against *all* labor unions. And PAC must attempt to reconcile such CIO acts of "patriotism" as the discharge by General Motors, at CIO's instigation, of five World War II veterans for failure to maintain union membership and the CIO plane factory strike on the very day soldiers and sailors were dying in the first invasion stab at Normandy.

The CIO's official intention to defy or nullify that section of the Service Act which guarantees the returned serviceman his old job becomes obvious in the General Motors situation and in an astounding anticipatory "brief for labor" in which the CIO published "facts and figures" to prove that not only is the serviceman's salary greater than that of "labor" but that *his risk of personal injury or death is less.*

In its quest for votes, PAC already has started "infiltration" of established veterans organizations such as the American Legion.

PAC's interest in the serviceman, however, is not confined to the problem of insuring a 4th Term. The Communist "Party," PAC and their allies realize that the World War II veteran, consolidating with the American Legion and other idealistic patriotic organizations, presents the greatest obstacle to an attempt to Sovietize the United States. For this reason, PAC is making a frenzied effort to gain control of all veterans. *As recently as August, 1944, the F.B.I. warned that the Reds in the United States have set into motion a definite plan for gaining control of all Army and Navy veteran groups.*

Even the churches are being exploited by PAC.

In a letter sent out by Hillman to priests, ministers and rabbis, he presented

CIO-PAC and NC-PAC as "forces of good will" fighting the "powers of darkness." After an opening sop to the "courageous and enlightened" labor viewpoint of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant faiths, he outlined PAC's objectives as out-beautituding the Beautitudes—but warned that the Lion will not lie down with the Lamb unless the "Commander-in-Chief" is reelected to a 4th Term.

The CIO, he stated, is piously concerned with giving "substance" to the Bill of Rights and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address—principles, he declared, which had "flowered out of the Hebrew-Christian ethic."

The planned PAC Religious Crusade will be spearheaded by the ultra-Leftist National Religion and Labor Foundation of which Hillman was once co-Chairman. The Foundation is scheduled to hold a Conference in Pittsburgh in October, just before the national elections, for the purpose of providing "non-sectarian" last minute publicity to bring converts to PAC's subversive evangelism.

The most alarming overt achievments of PAC to date are found in the results of their propaganda and pressure campaigns in districts which have added new populations of war workers who had to join the CIO before going to work.

Martin Dies of Texas, for several years Victim No. 1 on the purge list of the Communists and New Dealers, was forced to forego a campaign for reelection in his district when it was discovered that CIO union members had loaded the registration books even as they "worked over" Dies constituency with "patriotic" argument and plenty of hard cash—some $250,000.00 says Dies. The effort was so successful that the CIO captured control of the Jefferson County regular Democratic machine—the deciding factor in the primary election.

Two other members of the Dies Committee, Representatives John Costello of California and Joe Starnes of Alabama, were defeated in their attempts for re-nomination. "The CIO bought my defeat with $65,000.00," Costello stated. Starnes said that during his campaign "hundred dollar bills were scattered like confetti."

Next to the elimination of these Dies Committee members, PAC's most important victory was the "liquidation" of Senator Champ Clark of Missouri. The defeat of Senator Clark particularly established the degree to which Sidney Hillman has taken over control of both the regular National Democratic Party and the New Deal bureaucracy. Clark's bid for renomination was approved by the "Commander-in-Chief" through public support by Robert C. Hannegan, chairman of the National Democratic Committee. "President Roosevelt wants Champ Clark back," said Vice Presidential candidate Harry Truman. Yet Clark was decisively defeated.

In the showdown, "Commander-in-Chief" Roosevelt's National Democratic Committee "Commander-in-Chief" Hannegan was superseded in authority by CIO-PAC "Commander-in-Chief" Hillman.

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Among the near misses by PAC, the most spectacular was the bare renomination of Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota. Aside from its slush fund persuasion, PAC distributed 50,000 copies of the Munchausen-Carlson *"Under Cover"* in which Nye is "exposed" as a dangerous "fascist agent," and financed a full-page summary of the same charges in the *National Union Farmer*, official 224,000 circulation organ of the Communist-leaning National Farmers Union.

The "purge anti-Communists from Congress" campaign by PAC was arrogantly underscored by Victor Riesel, columnist on the Leftist New York *Post*, April 5, 1944, when he scathingly denounced an A. F. of L. leader who refused to "string along" with PAC in its smear and purge machinations against Senator Nye and Congressman Dies. In rejecting the sordid proposal the A. F. of L. leader declared:

> **"We judge these men by their labor records. *Nye and Dies have voted for nearly all labor measures.* We're not concerned with their other policies."**

Another member of Congress excoriated in the smear book *"Under Cover"* and marked for "liquidation" by PAC is Congressman Clare Hoffman of Michigan, who has denounced Communism and Communists in the New Deal administration and the CIO from the floor of the House perhaps more frequently than have all of his colleagues combined. According to the *Daily Worker*, official newspaper of the temporarily "dissolved" American Communist Party, a "house-to-house, precinct-to-precinct, ward-by-ward, township-by-township, village-by-village, city-by-city" campaign to defeat Hoffman is under way—*with prizes of War Bonds* offered to those PAC comrades who "do the best job" on him.

Washington political columnist George Rothwell Brown estimates that up to "90 percent" of the present membership of the House of Representatives is on PAC's purge list.

But PAC's activity *in favor* of certain candidates is as important strategically as the defeat of Dies Commitee, "polltaxer" and anti-Leftist candidates—and exposes the intention of PAC to destroy the two-party system in the United States.

This major long-range plan became indisputably obvious in the successful PAC-managed renomination of Vito Marcantonio, member of 110 Communist Front groups and only Communist partisan in the House of Representatives.

Marcantonio, leader, along with Browder and Hillman, of the "Left-Wing" faction of the American Labor Party, was ALP candidate in the 18th Congressional District in New York City. He also ran on both the Democratic and Republican tickets. For Marcantonio the CIO purse was open. Said Charlotte Carr, PAC regional director for New York:

> **"We need Marcantonio in Congress, and PAC will give him what money we've got and more if he needs it."**

Earl Browder ordered all Communist Political Association activities suspended so that 25,000 comrades could distribute Marcantonio "smear" literature.

PAC moved through the 18th district with an organization trained to military efficiency and strike-enforcing ruthlessness. The CIO fist was doubled, ready to meet—or instigate—any "emergency." On election day 3,000 PAC goons moved down upon the polls as ALP "watchers." With the silent glance or whispered threat technique of the Soviet OGPU, they reminded CIO union members of their "duty" and the ordinarily honest voter of a suddenly assumed "obligation." So threatening did the situation become that Hon. Martin J. Kennedy, regular Democratic party candidate for reelection, demanded police protection for himself and those voters determined to exercise their Constitutional right of the free ballot.

Following Marcantonio's success at the polls (demands for investigation and recount are still pending), charges of bribery, coercion, intimidation, ballot-stuffing and "double-crossing" were made.

Marcantonio's nomination was made possible only through a plot hatched with New York local Democratic leaders against the advice and admonition of the President, Congressman Kennedy charged. A pre-primary "deal" through which Marcantonio was to receive the Democratic nomination was forced by CIO-PAC pressure. Marcantonio, in turn, was to endorse all the Democratic candidates in New York county, including judges.

When Mayor LaGuardia, Marcantonio's former law partner, became incensed over the nomination of an unknown lawyer, Irving Levey, as the Democratic candidate for Justice of the Supreme Court, Marcantonio explained that it was Sidney Hillman who had forced through an endorsement.

When the proposed "deal" was outlined at the White House by Edward V. Loughlin, leader of Tammany Hall, President Roosevelt, according to Kennedy, turned down the plan because "it would be ridiculous and bad politics to offend Americans of Irish descent and other voters of the Catholic faith by failing to place *at least one* of that group on the Congressional slate in New York county." Kennedy, both Catholic and of Irish descent, was thus approved by the President as the regular Democratic party candidate.

But Sidney Hillman, not President Roosevelt, was running the Democratic party. Kennedy was "sold down the river." Communistic Vito Marcantonio was nominated on all tickets. *And Sidney Hillman's CIO Political Action Committee won its first major victory in destroying the traditional Two-Party system in the United States.*

PAC's victory was a victory for Mr. Browder and his Communists, too, for it followed with exact precision the "party line" laid down on May 22, 1944, in the official Red organ, the *Daily Worker*:

> **"We must cross party lines . . . The people must build their own organizations for political action, beginning in the**

neighborhoods, and wards, extending to districts, towns and cities, to the States and Nation as a whole . . . We will participate in political life as independents through the established party organizations of our progressive associates . . . *We remain an organization of Communists.*"

The Hillman program is identical with this program. **PAC in action is Communism in action.**

In summing up the successes of PAC, Richard Romann, Hillman's press chief, recently stated:

"Political action is clicking because the PAC boys have the know-how. After the *bloody* battles fought for industrial unionization, political organization is *a picnic.* In America, political bosses never really saw the picture in terms of mobilizing the masses. To really get rolling in political action you've got to spread wide, solidify, and hit hard!"

PAC has spread across the nation. It has solidified the Communist-Left Wing-New Deal elements. It is hitting hard—and below the belt—in attempting to destroy our political institutions.

And PAC will destroy the United States as a Republic of free men unless PAC itself is destroyed!

■

BE SURE TO VOTE

PART V

VOTE FOR A SOVIET AMERICA

The CIO Political Action Committee is not just an excursion of "labor" into politics to assure the success of the 4th Term.

Sidney Hillman did not form PAC as a Third Party nor even as an instrument through which political balance of power might be achieved. *PAC was deliberately designed as the most gigantic pressure group in the history of American politics through which both the Democratic and Republican parties would be absorbed into a single collectivist "Workers Party" which, as in Soviet Russia, would take over all functions of government.*

Time, in recognizing this "Workers Party" objective of PAC and summing up its immediate postwar aims, recently stated:

"But beyond the 1944 objective, PAC has a far-sighted purpose. From now on, labor has a political ambition of its own. PAC's young thinkers are skeptical of the ability of private enterprise to provide full employment after the war. They argue that without government initiative the United States cannot be effectively mobilized for peace; they are prepared to accept—and even seem eager for—a postwar world in which the economic initiative belongs to the government. PAC's 1944 platform is a specific blueprint calling for a planned economy, federally controlled."

This objective, however, was more authoritatively and accurately specified by Robert Minor, one of the founders of the Communist Party in the United States, executive member of the Communist Internationale and once the resident American Communist representative at Moscow. Comrade Minor, speaker at national conventions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and warmly introduced by Sidney Hillman, declared:

"We want the Labor movement to obtain physical control and ideological domination of this country. By physical control we mean the governing power—the power to make decisions and enforce them—the power to direct an army and a

navy—the power to control industry—the power to say who shall be in jail and who shall be out—in other words, POLITICAL POWER. *And there is no political power except complete political power.*

"But what of our principles? What of the form of rule, what of the Soviet system of dictatorship of the working class? Never mind—*we have not deserted any of our principles nor of any of our organizational forms.*"

PAC is the "organizational form" by which the master plan for Sovietizing the United States is to be put into total effect. The master plan consists of five cardinal points; class warfare; revolutionary mobilization of the "worker" into a political power; centralization of government; state control of production: seizure of government by the "workers."

The first four of these points have been achieved either wholly or in alarming degree through New Deal legislation, "directives" and social "reforms." Only the last point, **seizure** of government by "Labor," has not yet been realized.

Throughout history all advocates of the Collectivist State have held that revolution is the only method by which "the people" can seize control of government. When such a movement is unpopular with the general public potential resistance must be weakened through a systematic campaign of disunity, spiritual sabotage and eventual terror—unless, as held by Lenin to be more "desirable," the nation might be manouvered into war.

For 26 years the American Communists, aided and abetted by their Left-Wing Fellow Travelers, have attempted to foment revolution. But even the despair of the prolonged Roosevelt recession was not sufficient to torment the American people to violence. Then came war. America's extremity is now Communism's opportunity.

Even as our youth were dying in a global war, Vice President Wallace, speaking as High Priest of American Collectivists and potential international "commissar" in a CIO-4th Term administration, declared:

"Those of us who realize the *inevitability of revolution* are anxious that it be bloodless and gradual instead of bloody and sudden. We believe it can be bloodless and gradual if the makers of public opinion, if the politicians, if the pressure groups will only influence their millions of followers."

WE—the Communists, the New Deal, the CIO—will not shoot you down . the work bench or polling booth nor in your homes and churches if—*if*—you call off all opposition to us!

It is tragically foolhardy to dismiss the possibility of revolution or the ability of Browder and Hillman to take over the Democratic Party; to defy the will of 132,000,000 Americans; to seize the government and to impose Communism upon the United States with a revolutionary force of but four-to-five-million Communist-CIO-New Dealers —

Lenin and Trotsky took over and "liquidated" the Kerensky Democratic Party; defied the will of 180,000,000 citizens; seized the government and imposed Communism upon Russia with a revolutionary force of *only* 30,000 Bolsheviki-CIO-"New Dealers."

But there is one vitally important point Henry Wallace, Earl Browder, Sidney Hillman and PAC overlook in delivering an ultimatum to the American people—*the historical axiom that whenever and wherever an attempt has been made to Sovietize a free people there has been an invariable and inevitable political counteraction which has destroyed the attempt although it also has destroyed the freedom of the people it professed to defend.*

In 1921 the same ultimatum was delivered by the Communists and an Italian CIO—and a Mussolini and Fascism were created.

In 1932 the same ultimatum was delivered by the Communists and a German CIO—and a Hitler and Nazism were created.

In 1938 the same ultimatum was delivered by the Communists and a Spanish CIO—and a Franco and Falangism were created.

There *was* revolution—"bloody and sudden." *But Communism did not win.* Instead, a neutralizing collectivism scarcely less evil than Communism but as ruthless and far more dynamic was let loose.

The choice which PAC holds out to the people of the United States is *not* a choice between the Left-Wing New Deal and Republican constitutional government. It is a choice between Communism and some form of neutralizing collectivism as "inevitable" as Fascism, Nazism or Falangism.

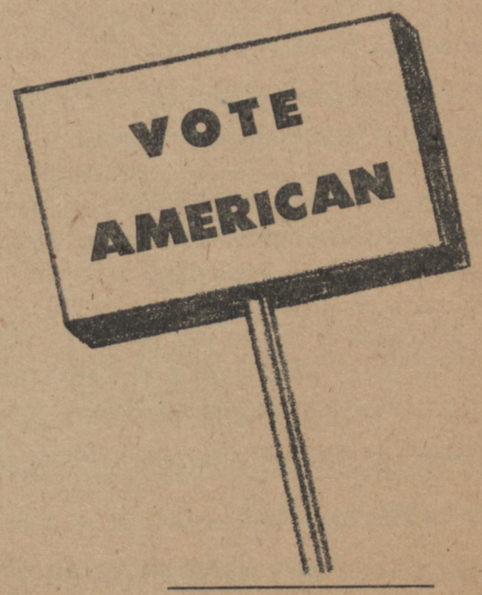
"We believe it can be bloodless—*if* . . ."

What tragic price victory on the battlefronts of the world if our blood, our substance, our tears buy nothing but the horror of Henry Wallace's "inevitable revolution!"

And after that?

If the historical parallels are sustained, Communism shall lose again and we shall become abjectedly regimented under a Nazi-Fascist totalitarianism as foreign to the ideals and ways of America as Hitler's *Mein Kampf* is foreign to the Bill of Rights.

But—and there is always a first time—if the historical parallel gives way to Marx' and Lenin's "historical necessity" and to Hillman's and Browder's PAC, **we shall have a Soviet America**, an American U.S.S.R.—a United States Soviet Republic—where a Russian-born Sidney Hillman sits in the White House, an alien-minded Richard Frankensteen is commissar over industry and commerce, and an Austrian-born Felix Frankfurter presides over an unending "Moscow Trial" and dispenses "justice" to millions of patriotic American workers and "Nationalist" Veterans charged with the capital crime of *Americanism, first degree!*



What YOU can *do* about it!

It is certain that if PAC succeeds in its seditious campaign it will in time bring about the complete destruction of the American system of society.

The time has come when every good American — every alert citizen — must take part in a crusade to stop PAC and purge the public payroll of all enemies of Constitutional government.

To accomplish this end, patriotic public opinion must be aroused and mobilized. This must be done *NOW* while there is still time — *before it is too late.*

Will you cooperate? Will you do your duty to yourself and to your country? Will you do something practical to help preserve the Republic?

Here are a few suggestions:

1. Distribute copies of this booklet to your associates in the business or industry where you work and among your neighbors in the community where you live.

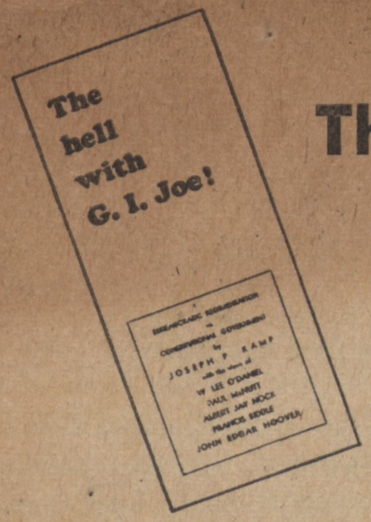
2. Mail copies to your relatives and friends in other towns, cities and in other states. Write them, too, and suggest that they assist in circulating this booklet.

3. Contribute according to your means (in any amount) to the support of the League so that this booklet and similar literature may be placed in the hands of a constantly expanding army of hundreds of thousands of molders of opinion in every part of the country.

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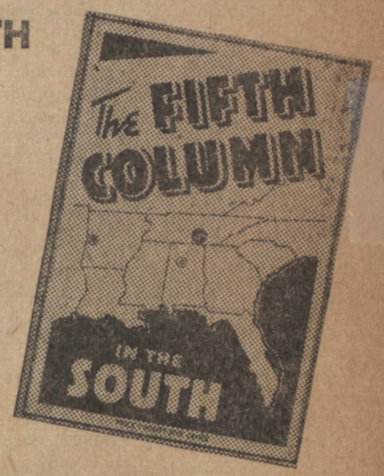
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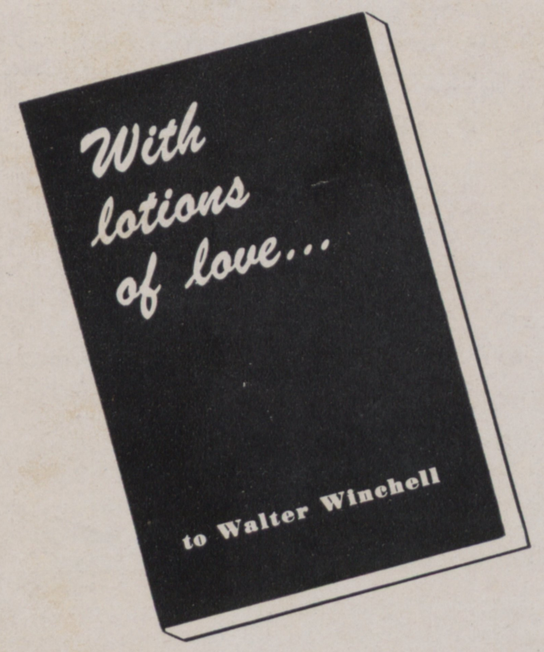
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USE THE COUPON ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE

Invitation to
MURDER

Several years ago, when the Communists were calling Mr. Roosevelt an imperialist war monger, Atty. Gen Biddle held that the Communist aim in America was to overthrow the government of the United States "by force and violence." At that time Hitler and Stalin were leagued together in looting Poland. Communists were sabotaging the American armament program. Then Hitler invaded Russia and the New Dealers sold out the Democratic party to the Communists.

The sell out was profitable to both parties, but the Communists prospered most because they now control the New Deal party and have Mr. Biddle in their pocket. They are stronger and more active than ever. Moscow ordered them to change their label when the Third International allegedly was disbanded, but the Communist party in America was not liquidated. It became fronts and political action groups and its leaders got on the New Deal payroll. The Communist party platform of 1932 gives the most honest statement of what they intend to do, and that aim hasn't been changed either. They plan to rally the "oppressed masses . . . under Communist leadership in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism and to establish a government in the United States of workers and farmers."

This is not going to take place without bloodshed. The New Dealers may hold back the revolution for a time by advancing the Communists' plans almost to fruition, but when the New Deal leaders have served their purpose, they will get the ax. The Communists intend to overthrow capitalism, which is another way of saying they intend to destroy property rights everywhere. They cannot do this without revolution and murder, and that is what the phrase "revolutionary struggle" means.

The Communists will move as far as they can within the framework of representative government, paying lip service to what they call "democratic principles." If they ever become so strong they know they cannot lose, they will take the "struggle" on from there, by the bloody means they demonstrated so well in Soviet Russia. They not only intend to plunder all property, but they intend to murder millions of Americans. They talk now about obtaining the "means of production" for the people. In Russia, the means of production often was a peasant's last cow, and if he didn't surrender it to the commissars, he was shot.

The people who support the New Deal ticket this November are supporting the Communists and building them up for the day when they plan to bring the Red terror sweeping down upon America. A New Deal vote is an invitation to murder.

— The Chicago Sunday Tribune, August 6, 1944.